

**REACTION TO DEVIATES AND CONFORMERS: THE EFFECT OF REGULATORY
FIT**

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Adherence to group norms is an important determinant of how members judge one another, with conformers typically being evaluated more positively than deviates (Levine & Kerr, 2007). This study tested predictions about reaction to conformers and deviates derived from Regulatory Fit Theory (Higgins, 2002), which takes account of people's regulatory focus (promotion vs. prevention) and their manner of goal pursuit (eager vs. vigilant). According to the theory, because fit sustains an individual's regulatory focus, it produces greater task engagement and intensification of affective responses to salient stimuli. The present study used a 2 (regulatory focus: promotion or prevention) x 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design. After being induced to have either a promotion or prevention regulatory focus, male and female undergraduates in three-person groups reached consensus on a proposed senior thesis requirement, with most groups opposing the requirement (25 groups/condition). Participants then watched an ostensible student argue either for (deviate) or against (conformer) the requirement using either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. Afterwards, participants discussed and evaluated the speaker and his message. For exploratory purposes, participants' opinion change and the content and valence of their comments during the discussion were also assessed. Major predictions were that (a) regulatory fit would produce more task engagement (longer group discussions) than nonfit; (b) conformers would be evaluated more positively than deviates; (c) fit would intensify positive evaluations of

conformers and negative evaluations of deviates; and (d) task engagement would mediate the impact of fit on reaction to both targets. Only the hypothesis that conformers would be evaluated more positively than deviates was confirmed. Additional analyses found that participants were more engaged when discussing deviates than conformers. There was also some evidence of minority influence by deviates. Finally, analyses of group discussions indicated that target status influenced both the content and valence of participants' comments, and content and valence scores were related to the evaluation of the target. These results were interpreted, and directions for future research were suggested.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Individuals routinely make judgments about members of their ingroup. For example, university students might judge other university students based on their similarity (Byrne & Griffitt, 1969), propinquity (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950), or attractiveness (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991). One additional factor that is influential in determining reaction to ingroup members is the member's conformity to or deviance from group norms.

Norms are shared and preferred ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving (Hogg & Reid, 2006) that guide social behavior (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). There are two major categories of norms. Descriptive norms indicate how other people think, feel, or act and motivate behavior through "social proof" of what is effective in a given situation (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). In contrast, injunctive norms indicate how one *should* think, feel, or act and motivate behavior through the promise of social approval or the threat of disapproval (Cialdini & Trost, 1998).

Whether ingroup members gain social approval or disapproval is heavily influenced by whether they conform to or deviate from injunctive norms (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014; Jetten, Iyer, Hutchinson, & Hornsey, 2011; Levine, 1989; Levine & Kerr, 2007). Groups typically reward ingroup conformers with increased popularity (e.g., Crandall, 1988; Marques & Páez, 1994; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). In contrast, groups typically punish ingroup deviates with decreased popularity (e.g., Bown & Abrams, 2003;

Marques & Páez, 1994; Marques et al., 1988; Richard, Bond, & Stokes-Zoota, 2003; see Jetten et al., 2011 and Jetten & Hornsey, 2014, for exceptions).

1.1 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO REACTION TO DEVIANCE

Most of the theoretical and empirical work on reaction to deviance has focused on cases in which deviates elicit negative responses from other group members, and our work falls within this tradition. The two most prominent social psychological models designed to explain reaction to deviance are Festinger's (1950) analysis of communication in groups and more recent analyses based on social identity theory (e.g., Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001).

1.1.1 Festinger's Analysis.

In an early formulation, Festinger (1950) suggested that uniformity in groups serves two primary goals - a need for social reality and a need for group locomotion. Regarding the former, group members rely on shared beliefs and opinions to create a “correct” vision of reality. Because beliefs and opinions are abstract concepts that do not always have concrete physical evidence to prove their validity, group members depend on the beliefs and opinions of others to create social reality. If one's belief or opinion matches that of other group members, then it is assumed to be valid. Festinger (1950) also stated that uniformity serves the goal of facilitating group locomotion – progress toward attaining collective goals. In order for a group to achieve its goals (e.g., meeting deadlines, accomplishing tasks), its members must agree on how to go about achieving those goals.

In the case of both social reality and group locomotion, people who deviate from group consensus are problematical. According to Festinger (1950), when deviance occurs, the group uses communication to exert pressure on the deviate to move toward the group's modal position. This pressure may convince the deviate to move toward the group norm. However, a deviate might fail to yield to group pressure, and this failure then leads the group to evaluate the deviate negatively or reject the deviate entirely. It is also possible for the deviate to convince the group to move toward his/her position, though Festinger does not emphasize this possibility.

Festinger's general framework was influential on later work that examined variables affecting reaction to deviance (see Levine & Kerr, 2007, for a review). For example, extremity of deviance has consistently been found to cause negative reaction by group members (e.g., Hensley & Duval, 1976; Levine & Ranelli, 1978; Sampson & Brandon, 1964). But the content of the deviance also determines how group members react to that deviance. For example, Levine and Ruback (1980) examined three rationales for opinion deviance – ambivalence (deviate sees positives and negatives to both sides of an issue), ignorance (deviate does not have enough information to decide), and indifference (deviate does not care about the issue). Levine and Ruback found that ambivalent deviates were better liked than ignorant deviates, who in turn were better liked than indifferent deviates.

Other work built on the group locomotion aspect of Festinger's theory. For example, several studies found that the more a deviate's behavior or opinion interferes with group locomotion, the more likely a negative reaction will occur (e.g., Berkowitz & Howard, 1959; Earle, 1986; Wiggins, Dill, & Schwartz, 1965). Other work examined how the status of a deviate affects reaction to the deviate's interference with group locomotion. Deviate leaders are sometimes punished more and sometimes punished less than non-leaders, depending on several factors. For example, Hollander (1958) suggests that high status members may be allowed to

display more deviance because of their past contributions to the group. However, sometimes leaders can be harshly punished for their deviance. Alvarez (1968) found that higher status members are sanctioned less for deviant acts than are members of lower status, unless the group is failing, in which case they are sanctioned more. Another variable that moderates the effect of status on reaction to deviance is the current role of the leader. A recent study found that future leaders who deviated from the group were more positively evaluated than ex-leaders, current leaders, and non-leader group members (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchinson, 2008).

The group context in which the deviance occurs can also moderate reaction to that deviance. Some groups may be more permissive of deviance for the sake of stimulating creativity or originality (e.g., McAuliffe, Jetten, Hornsey, & Hogg, 2003), whereas other groups may be strongly interested in attaining consensus and thus less permissive of deviance (e.g., Kruglanski & Webster, 1991). Threats to the ingroup, such as a potentially superior outgroup (Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001), may also decrease a group's permissiveness toward deviance. Finally, social influence within the group may moderate reaction to deviance. For example, witnessing another group member react negatively toward a deviate may increase the likelihood of an individual reacting negatively to deviance (Wheeler & Caggiula, 1966).

1.1.2 Social Identity Theory.

In recent years, research on reaction to deviance has been strongly influenced by social identity theory. In particular, attention has been given to the "black sheep effect" (BSE), which shows that ingroup/outgroup membership status determines the intensity of reaction to deviance. BSE studies, which compare ingroup and outgroup members who either conform to or deviate from

group norms, have focused on various kinds of groups, including university classes (Pinto et al., 2010), workplaces (Bown & Abrams, 2003), and cultural groups (Marques et al., 1988). These studies find that ingroup deviates are evaluated more harshly than outgroup members holding the same position when the two groups share a common norm (e.g., Bown & Abrams, 2003; Marques & Páez, 1994; Marques et al., 1988). Marques et al. (1988) hypothesized that this “under-evaluation” of ingroup deviates occurs because group members want to preserve the positivity of their group’s identity and thus their own social identity. Because ingroup deviates threaten other members’ identity more than do outgroup members holding the same position, ingroup deviates are rejected more. Although the BSE label might imply that this phenomenon deals exclusively with deviates, relevant studies also investigate reaction to conformers. These studies show that, not only are ingroup deviates liked less than outgroup members advocating the same position (e.g., Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Dougill, 2002; Pinto et al., 2010), but ingroup deviates are also liked less than ingroup conformers, who in turn are liked more than outgroup members advocating the same position (e.g., Pinto et al., 2010).

Work on the BSE and subsequent theorizing (e.g., Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Hutchinson, & Viki, 2005) stimulated other work on reaction to deviance. Ingroup identification has received particular attention. Typically, people who have high ingroup identification show more intense *negative* reaction toward ingroup deviates than do those with lower identification and also more intense *positive* reaction to ingroup conformers than do those with lower identification (e.g., Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Hutchinson & Abrams, 2003). But ingroup identification also can have more complicated effects. For example, in a study by Hornsey, Jetten, McAuliffe, and Hogg (2006), individuals in groups with individualistic norms were less likely to derogate deviates than were individuals in groups with collectivist norms, and this effect only occurred among those who highly identified with the group. The

authors reasoned that individuals who identify highly with their group assimilate more to group norms, which causes them to be more accepting of deviance in individualistic groups and less accepting of deviance in collectivist groups.

Another area of research that has been stimulated by work on the BSE involves pro-normative and anti-normative deviance. Pro-normative deviates, also known as positive deviates, “over-conform” to ingroup norms. For example, in a group of students in which studying for three hours per night is normative, a student who studies for six hours is demonstrating pro-normative deviance, whereas a student who studies for only one hour is displaying anti-normative deviance. Abrams et al. (2002) found that, although people can detect pro-normative deviates and anti-normative deviates with equal ease, they react more negatively to anti-normative deviates.

Social identity research on reaction to deviance and conformity has also examined the case in which ingroups and outgroups have opposing norms (in contrast to BSE studies involving a common norm across the ingroup and outgroup). For example, from the perspective of a member of Group A, if Group A supports a given policy but Group B supports the opposite policy, then members of Group A who deviate from its policy and members of Group B who conform to its policy both oppose the ingroup norm. In contrast, members of Group A who conform to its policy and members of Group B who deviate from its policy both support the ingroup norm. In general, ingroup and outgroup members who deviate from the ingroup norm (and conform to the outgroup norm) are rated more negatively than ingroup and outgroup members who support the ingroup norm (and deviate from the outgroup norm) (e.g., Marques, Abrams, Páez, & Hogg, 2001). Researchers suggest that outgroup deviates are viewed favorably in this situation because they “boost relative validity” of the ingroup norm vis-à-vis the outgroup norm (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000).

1.1.3 Regulatory Fit Theory.

Both Festinger's and social identity analyses posit that deviates are problematical because they threaten important group motives -- need for social reality and group locomotion in the former case and need for positive social identity in the latter case. Given this, motivational theories are likely to prove useful for understanding reaction to deviates (and conformers). One strong contender is Regulatory Fit Theory, which has proven to be a powerful tool for explaining a variety of phenomena at both the individual and group levels of analysis. Regarding the former, Regulatory Fit Theory has been used to explain such phenomena as consumer behavior (e.g., Avnet & Higgins, 2003; Higgins, Idson, Freitas, Spiegel, & Molden, 2003), persuasion (e.g., Cesario, Grant, & Higgins, 2004), performance on cognitive tasks (Keller & Bless, 2006), learning (Maddox, Baldwin, & Markman, 2006), and health behavior (e.g., Spiegel, Grant-Pillow, & Higgins, 2004). Regarding the latter, Regulatory Fit Theory has been applied to such phenomena as social loafing (e.g., Plaks & Higgins, 2000), attitudes towards outgroups (e.g., Falomir-Pichastor, Mugny, Gabarrot, & Quiamzade, 2011), power (e.g., Sassenberg, Jonas, Shah, & Brazy, 2007), and leadership, (e.g., Benjamin & Flynn, 2006; Stam, Van Knippenberg, & Wisse, 2010). Regulatory Fit Theory also suggests interesting hypotheses regarding reaction to deviance. Before discussing these hypotheses, the theory will be described in more detail.

Regulatory Fit Theory can be viewed as an extension and elaboration of Regulatory Focus Theory. According to Regulatory Focus Theory, people have different ways of framing the goals they pursue - they can approach goals with either a promotion focus or a prevention focus. Promotion-focused individuals are concerned with accomplishments and advancement towards goals (Higgins, 2012). A promotion focus occurs when one has a strong need for nurturance, views goals as ideals, and is concerned about gains/non-gains (Higgins, 1997). In contrast,

prevention-focused individuals are concerned with security and not losing progress towards goals (Higgins, 2012). A prevention focus occurs when one has a strong need for security, views goals as oughts, and is concerned about non-losses/losses (Higgins, 1997). As an example, a student with a promotion focus may have a goal of receiving an A in a class, whereas a student with a prevention focus may have a goal of not getting below an A in a class. There are individual differences in promotion and prevention focus orientation (Higgins, 1997), such that some people chronically have a promotion focus and others have a prevention focus. But regulatory focus can also be induced in a variety of ways, for example by having individuals write about either their hopes and aspirations (promotion focus) or their duties and obligations (prevention focus) (e.g., Cesario et al., 2004; Freitas & Higgins, 2002).

Regulatory focus has a variety of cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects. For example, individuals who are concerned with ideals have an increased sensitivity to the presence or absence of positive outcomes, whereas individuals who are concerned with oughts have an increased sensitivity to the absence or presence of negative outcomes (e.g., Higgins & Tykocinski, 1992). Another difference between a promotion and a prevention focus is the emotion created by success or failure of goal attainment. Goal attainment under a promotion focus is associated with cheerfulness-related emotions, whereas failure to attain a goal is associated with dejection-related emotions (e.g., Higgins, Shah, & Friedman, 1997; Strauman & Higgins, 1987). In contrast, goal attainment under a prevention focus is associated with quiescence-related emotions, whereas failure to attain a goal is associated with agitation-related emotions (e.g., Higgins et al., 1997; Strauman & Higgins, 1987).

Regulatory Fit Theory extends Regulatory Focus Theory by adding the idea that both regulatory focus and the manner of goal pursuit matter. According to Regulatory Fit theory, people can pursue goals in either an eager or a vigilant way. For example, someone in a

brainstorming group may (a) try to think of as many ideas as possible – an eager strategy or (b) try not to miss thinking of any ideas – a vigilant strategy. Regulatory fit occurs when one’s goal orientation (regulatory focus) is sustained by the manner in which one pursues a goal (Higgins, 2012). Thus, someone in a promotion focus who pursues a goal in an eager way will experience regulatory fit, whereas someone in a prevention focus who pursues a goal in a vigilant way will also experience regulatory fit. Regulatory fit can also be created when one’s regulatory focus is sustained by another person’s manner of goal pursuit. For example, Cesario and Higgins (2008) found that people in a promotion focus were more persuaded by a communication using an eager style of advocacy, whereas those in a prevention focus were more persuaded by a communication using a vigilant style.

According to Higgins (2006), because regulatory fit sustains an individual’s current regulatory orientation, it leads to greater task engagement and intensification of affective reactions to salient stimuli. Regarding the former relationship, studies measuring strength of task engagement in terms of intensity and persistence found that regulatory fit increased engagement (e.g., Förster, Grant, Idson, & Higgins, 2001; Förster, Higgins, & Idson, 1998; see Levine, Alexander, Wright, & Higgins, in press, for an exception). Regarding the latter relationship, studies showed that regulatory fit led to stronger affective reactions to salient stimuli. For example, regulatory fit increased participants’ positive evaluations of objects and increased the objects’ perceived value (Higgins et al., 2003). Moreover, this intensification of reactions occurs for *both* positive and negative affect (e.g., Idson, Lieberman, & Higgins, 2004). Regulatory Fit Theory also postulates that task engagement mediates the impact of regulatory fit on intensification of affective responses (Higgins, 2012).

In the domain of interpersonal evaluation, Hamstra, Van Yperen, Wisse, and Sassenberg (2013) recently found that regulatory fit intensified evaluative responses to liked and disliked

target persons (Experiments 3 and 4). In these studies, participants were induced to have either a promotion or a prevention focus for attaining a goal and were then instructed to list either eager or vigilant strategies to do so. It was assumed that participants with a promotion focus who listed eager strategies and participants with a prevention focus who listed vigilant strategies both experienced fit, whereas participants in the remaining two conditions experienced nonfit. Participants were then asked to think about someone they either liked (Experiment 3) or hated (Experiment 4) and to evaluate this person on several scales. Finally, participants rated how right it felt to like/hate this person. Results indicated that participants in fit conditions gave more positive ratings to liked targets (Experiment 3) and more negative rating to disliked targets (Experiment 4) than did participants in nonfit conditions. Furthermore, feeling right mediated the relationship between regulatory fit and target evaluation in both studies.

A recent study of reaction to deviance also provided some evidence for the mediating role of strength of engagement in the context of regulatory fit (Alexander, Levine, & Higgins, 2013). In this study, participants were induced to have either a promotion or a prevention regulatory focus. Afterwards, they were exposed to a target person who advocated a deviant position using either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. Participants who experienced regulatory fit showed more task engagement, as measured by the length of time they talked about the deviate and his message, and evaluated the deviate more negatively than did participants who experienced nonfit. Furthermore, the effect of fit/non-fit on evaluation of the deviate was partially mediated by task engagement.

2.0 PRESENT EXPERIMENT

The goal of the present experiment was to test predictions derived from Regulatory Fit Theory regarding reaction to deviance and conformity. A 2 (regulatory focus: promotion or prevention) x 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design was used. Members of three-person groups were placed in either a promotion or a prevention focus and asked to discuss and reach consensus on an opinion issue, namely whether or not a senior thesis requirement should be adopted at the participants' university. After reaching consensus on the issue (with most groups opposing the requirement), participants watched a videotape of an ostensible student at their university either opposing (deviate) or supporting (conformer) the group's opinion using either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. Afterwards, participants discussed and evaluated the speaker and his message. Table 1B indicates the expected joint effects of the participants' regulatory focus and the target's advocacy style on their regulatory fit/non-fit in each of the eight cells of the design.

We predicted that participants whose regulatory focus was sustained by the target's advocacy style would be more engaged in the task of evaluating the target, as measured by the length of their discussion, than would participants whose regulatory focus was not sustained by the target's advocacy style. Therefore, stronger task engagement was expected in fit conditions (cells 1, 3, 6, and 8) than in non-fit conditions (cells 2, 4, 5, and 7) (see Table 2B).

Because of the substantial prior work indicating that conformers typically elicit more positive responses than do deviates, we expected that, overall, conformers in the present study would receive more positive evaluations than would deviates. In addition, we predicted that regulatory fit would intensify those reactions. More specifically, we expected that evaluations of conformers would be more positive in fit conditions (cells 1 and 6) than in nonfit conditions (cells 2 and 5), whereas evaluations of deviates would be more negative in fit conditions (cells 3 and 8) than in nonfit conditions (cells 4 and 7) (see Table 3B).

Finally, we expected that task engagement would mediate the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation (increased liking for conformers and decreased liking for deviates). That is, we expected that the intensification of participants' evaluation of the target produced by regulatory fit would be substantially reduced or eliminated when task engagement was taken into account. Figure 1C presents the predicted mediational model for conformers, and Figure 2C presents the predicted mediational model for deviates.

For exploratory purposes, we also included a measure of participants' opinion about the message topic both before and after exposure to the target's message. We did not expect substantial opinion change in either the conformer or deviate condition, because of participants' strongly polarized initial position opposing the thesis requirement. However, to the extent that any change occurred, we expected more change in the deviate condition (toward the thesis requirement) than in the conformer condition (away from the requirement), because of a ceiling effect in the latter condition. In addition, on the basis of evidence that regulatory fit can affect the persuasiveness of a message (e.g., Cesario et al., 2004; Cesario, Higgins, & Scholer, 2008; Keller, 2006; Zhao & Pechmann, 2007), we were interested in the possible impact of fit on opinion change. To the extent that any opinion change occurred in the present experiment, we expected that (a) participants in the conformer condition would become more negative toward the

thesis requirement in fit than in nonfit conditions and (b) participants in the deviate condition would become more positive toward the thesis requirement in fit than in nonfit conditions.

We also recorded and analyzed the group discussions regarding the speaker and his message. Although early work on reaction to deviance by Festinger and his colleagues examined communication patterns in groups containing conformers and deviates (e.g., Festinger, 1950; Festinger & Thibaut, 1951; Schachter, 1951), most of the subsequent research on this topic used paradigms in which participants responded individually to information about target persons who did or did not agree with group consensus (see Levine & Kaarbo, 2001; Levine & Tindale, 2014). For this reason, many interesting questions about the group processes involved in reaction to conformers and deviates remain unanswered. In this study, we sought to address this shortcoming by recording and analyzing the group discussions about the speaker and his message. We were interested in questions such as the following: Did the discussions of conformer and deviate targets focus on different topics? Were discussions of conformers more positive than discussions of deviates? Did regulatory fit vs. nonfit influence the content of the discussions and their positivity/negativity?

2.1 PILOT STUDY

Prior to conducting the main experiment, a pilot study was performed to assess the adequacy of the manipulations of target status and target advocacy style.

2.1.1 Method.

Four versions of the videotaped target speaker's arguments regarding implementation of a senior thesis requirement were created (see Appendix A). A 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design was used. In the deviate condition, the target presented arguments favoring the requirement, whereas in the conformer condition, the target presented arguments opposing the requirement. Within each of these conditions, the target used either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. The eager advocacy style emphasized enthusiasm and doing one's best, whereas the vigilant advocacy style emphasized responsibility and being careful. The content of the arguments remained the same across the two conditions with only selected phrases changed to alter the target's advocacy style and status. For example, in the deviate eager condition, the last sentence was, "So, I think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because we should eagerly pursue what is best for our students." In contrast, in the deviate vigilant condition, the same sentence read, "So, I think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because we should be careful to do what is right for our students."

Participants were male and female undergraduates drawn from the University of Pittsburgh's Psychology Department subject pool (N = 80). Twenty participants were randomly assigned to watch each of the four videos (deviate eager, deviate vigilant, conformer eager, conformer vigilant) and then to rate the video on nine scales (see Appendix A). Participants received one credit hour for their participation.

2.1.2 Results.

The first question in Appendix A5 was used to assess the adequacy of the target status manipulation (How do you think the typical Pitt undergraduate would respond to this message? (see Table 4B). A 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA conducted on responses to this question revealed a main effect of target status, such that Pitt students were perceived as more favorable to the conformer's message ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.48$) than to the deviate's message ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.06$), ($F(1, 75) = 51.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .41$). There was neither a main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 75) = 1.26$, $p = .27$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, nor an interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 75) = .364$, $p = .55$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. These results indicate that the manipulation of the conformity/deviance of the messages was successful.

The next four questions in Appendix A5 were included to assess the efficacy of the target advocacy style manipulation. Questions 2 and 3 (How much did the message focus on increasing students' enthusiasm?; How much was the speaker concerned with the students accomplishing their best?) were designed to assess eagerness, whereas questions 4 and 5 (How much was the speaker concerned with students being responsible and not slacking off?; How much did the message focus on ensuring that students be careful?) were designed to assess vigilance.

Separate 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVAs were conducted on responses to each of the questions (see Table 4B). For Question 2, the analysis indicated a main effect of advocacy style, such that participants perceived that eager messages were more focused on increasing student enthusiasm ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.72$) than were vigilant messages ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.66$), $F(1, 76) = 10.13$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. There was neither a main effect of target status, $F(1, 76) = .633$, $p = .43$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, nor an interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 76) = 2.13$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, on this question. The analysis conducted on responses to

Question 3 did not indicate a main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 76) = .12, p = .73, \eta_p^2 = .002$, a main effect of target status, $F(1, 76) = .24, p = .63, \eta_p^2 = .003$, or an interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 76) = .24, p = .63, \eta_p^2 = .003$. For Question 4, the analysis indicated a main effect of target advocacy style, such that participants perceived that the target presenting a vigilant message was more concerned with students being responsible ($M = 4.85, SD = 1.67$) than was the target presenting an eager message ($M = 3.53, SD = 1.58$), $F(1, 76) = 13.20, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$. There was neither a main effect of target status, $F(1, 76) = 1.06, p = .31, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor an interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 76) = .79, p = .38, \eta_p^2 = .01$, on this question. Similarly, the analysis conducted on responses to Question 5 indicated a main effect of target advocacy style, such that participants perceived vigilant messages as more focused on students being careful ($M = 3.65, SD = 1.85$) than were eager messages ($M = 2.10, SD = 1.19$), $F(1, 76) = 19.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$. Again, there was neither a main effect of target status, $F(1, 76) < .01, p > .99, \eta_p^2 < .001$, nor an interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 76) = .80, p = .57, \eta_p^2 = .004$, on this question. Taken as a whole, the analyses on Questions 2-5 indicate that the target advocacy style manipulation was effective.

Questions 6 through 9 were included to assess the extent to which the four messages differed on potentially important characteristics other than eagerness/vigilance. These included persuasiveness (How persuasive were the speaker's arguments about the proposal?), convincingness (How convincing were the speaker's arguments?), coherence (How coherent were the speaker's arguments?), and reasonableness (How reasonable were the speaker's arguments?).

Separate 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVAs were conducted on responses to each of the questions (see Table 4B). For Question 6 (persuasiveness), neither of the

main effects (target status: $F(1, 76) = .09, p = .76, \eta_p^2 = .001$; target advocacy style: $F(1, 76) = .21, p = .65, \eta_p^2 = .003$) nor the interaction ($F(1, 76) = .374, p = .54, \eta_p^2 = .01$) attained significance. The analysis conducted on responses to Question 7 (convincingness) also revealed no significant effects for target status ($F(1, 76) = .38, p = .54, \eta_p^2 = .01$), target advocacy style ($F(1, 76) = .1, p = .76, \eta_p^2 = .001$), or their interaction ($F(1, 76) = .38, p = .54, \eta_p^2 = .01$). The same pattern of findings was obtained on Question 8 (coherence) (target status: $F(1, 76) < .01, p > .99, \eta_p^2 < .001$; target advocacy style: $F(1, 76) = 1.84, p = .18, \eta_p^2 = .02$; interaction: $F(1, 76) = .26, p = .61, \eta_p^2 = .003$) and on Question 9 (reasonableness) (target status: $F(1, 76) = .51, p = .48, \eta_p^2 = .01$; target advocacy style: $F(1, 76) = .01, p = .94, \eta_p^2 < .001$; interaction: $F(1, 76) = .51, p = .48, \eta_p^2 = .01$). Taken as a whole, these results indicate that the four messages in both the conformer and deviate conditions did not differ significantly on characteristics other than eagerness/vigilance. Moreover, it is worth noting that, across conditions, the messages were perceived as moderately persuasive ($M = 3.48, SD = 1.44$), convincing ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.43$), coherent ($M = 4.23, SD = 1.31$), and reasonable ($M = 4.39, SD = 1.39$).

2.2 MAIN EXPERIMENT

As indicated above, this experiment used a 2 (regulatory focus: promotion or prevention) x 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design to test predictions derived from Regulatory Fit Theory regarding reaction to deviance and conformity.

2.2.1 Participants.

Participants were male and female undergraduates drawn from the University of Pittsburgh's Psychology Department subject pool ($N = 663$). Participants, who received one credit hour for their participation, were randomly assigned to three-person groups in the eight conditions of the design. A total of 221 groups were run. Twenty one of these groups were dropped from the analysis for various reasons. In one group, participants failed to follow instructions. In 13 groups, participants initially voted in favor of the proposed senior thesis requirement. And in seven groups, participants exhibited substantial suspicion about the experiment during the group discussion. After dropping these groups, 200 groups (600 participants) remained, with 25 groups in each of the eight conditions. Using effect sizes obtained by Alexander et al. (2013), a power analysis indicated that 25 groups per cell was sufficient to detect the predicted interactions. Participants were 48.3% male and 51.5% female. The sample was 74.0% Caucasian, 5.3% African American, 15.3% Asian, 1.8% Hispanic, and 3.5% other. Approximately equal numbers of males and females were assigned to each of the eight conditions.

2.2.2 Method.

After arriving in the lab, participants were told that they would be participating in two studies. The ostensible two-study design was intended to reduce the likelihood that participants would assume that the regulatory focus manipulation (in the "first" study) should affect their ratings of the target (in the "second" study). Participants then completed the informed consent form.

Participants were told that the first study involved a short writing task. They were then asked to write about a hope or aspiration (promotion condition) or a duty or obligation

(prevention condition) (Appendix A). This manipulation of regulatory focus has been used in many previous studies (e.g., Cesario et al., 2004; Freitas & Higgins, 2002) and has been shown to create different states of regulatory focus (Pham & Avnet, 2004).

The second study was described as an examination of group decision making. Participants were given a description of a proposed senior thesis requirement for the University of Pittsburgh. There were separate versions of this description for promotion and prevention conditions. For example, in the promotion condition, the description stated, “Recently, in an effort to create greater academic opportunity for students, faculty have been considering implementing a new degree enhancement program.” In contrast, in the prevention condition, the description stated, “Recently, in an effort to guard against inadequate student academic accomplishment, faculty have been considering implementing a new graduation requirement.” (See Appendix A for full descriptions.) After reading the program description, participants were asked to discuss it as a group, to decide whether they did or did not support its implementation, and to provide three reasons for their group’s position (see Appendix A). After the group discussion, participants individually rated their own position on the program using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly against; 7 = Strongly in favor) (see Appendix A). Previous research has found that undergraduate students are typically opposed to a senior thesis requirement (e.g., Petty & Caccioppo, 1986). Thus, we expected that most participants in the present study would not support the implementation of such a requirement at the University of Pittsburgh.

Next, participants were told that some previous students at the University of Pittsburgh were asked to write essays regarding their views about the senior thesis requirement and to read them aloud while being videotaped. Participants then watched a supposedly randomly chosen video of a student reading his essay. The student in the video wore a sweatshirt with a University of Pittsburgh logo. Participants in the conformer condition watched a video in which the student

argued *against* instituting a senior thesis requirement at the university, whereas participants in the deviate condition watched a video in which the student argued *in favor* of the requirement. Within each of these conditions, half the participants watched the student read his essay using an eager advocacy style, whereas the remaining half watched the student read his essay using a vigilant advocacy style. The essays in the four conditions were those used in the pilot study described above (see Appendix A). It was assumed that promotion-focused participants who listened to an eager essay and prevention-focused participants who listened to a vigilant essay would experience regulatory fit, whereas promotion-focused participants who listened to a vigilant essay and prevention-focused participants who listened to an eager essay would experience regulatory non-fit (see Table 1B).

After watching the video, participants were asked to engage in a discussion about the presentation they just heard. This discussion was audio-taped. Following the discussion, participants filled out a questionnaire with four sections (see Appendix A). In the first section, Question 1 assessed participants' current position on the senior thesis proposal (responses to this question were later compared to participants' earlier responses to determine opinion change). Questions 2 and 3 assessed participants' perceptions of the target's position on the thesis proposal, and Question 8 assessed participants' perceptions of the target's similarity to them. Questions 4-7 measured participants' evaluations of the target (likeableness; intelligence; trustworthiness; competence). Questions 9-12 measured participants' evaluations of the target's message (persuasiveness; convincingness; coherence: reasonableness). In order to measure an alternative mechanism for the impact of regulatory fit, Question 13 assessed how "right" participants felt about their evaluations of the speaker. In order to measure self-reported (as opposed to behavioral) engagement in the task, Question 14 assessed how engaged participants felt during the second group discussion. In the second section, Questions 15-18 measured participants'

perceptions of group agreement about the senior thesis requirement and evaluation of the target, perception of group cohesion, and their desire to participate again with the same group members. These questions were included for exploratory purposes. The third section of the questionnaire contained the Regulatory Focus Questionnaire (RFQ) (labeled Event Reaction Questionnaire), which is a measure of chronic regulatory focus (Higgins et al., 2001).¹ Finally, the fourth part of the questionnaire assessed participants' reactions to the study and their demographic information. After participants completed the questionnaire, they were thanked and debriefed.

2.2.3 Results.

The results are reported as follows. First, analyses on participants' perceptions of the target are presented. Second, analyses testing the hypotheses regarding the impact of regulatory fit on task engagement (both behavioral and self-report) are reported. Third, analyses concerning another possible mediator of the impact of regulatory fit (feeling right) on target evaluation and opinion change are discussed. Fourth, analyses testing the hypotheses regarding the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation are presented. Fifth, analyses assessing the impact of regulatory fit on opinion change are reported. Sixth, mediational analyses are discussed. Seventh, analyses examining participants' perceptions of group agreement (regarding the thesis requirement and target evaluation) and group cohesion and their desire to participate again with same group members are reported. Finally, analyses of the group discussions are presented. For all analyses

¹ RFQ items load on two factors -- (1) promotion focus (items 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11) and (2) prevention focus (items 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8), some of which were reverse scored. Typically, RFQ scores are computed for individuals. In the present study, however, RFQ scores were computed at the group level by computing separate mean promotion and mean prevention scores for each group member, taking the difference between these scores, and then averaging these scores to create a mean group RFQ score. These scores were used as a covariate in subsequent analyses to control for differences in group chronic regulatory focus. In only one case (perceived group cohesion), did the covariate change the pattern of significant results. Therefore, the reported analyses do not include the covariate.

in which individual participants provided data, the scores of the three members of each group were averaged and this mean score was used in the analyses.

2.2.3.1 Perceptions of the target. Two questions assessed participants' views of the target's position on the senior thesis requirement (see Tables 5B and 6B). The first question was, “What position did the speaker take on the senior thesis proposal?” (1 = Strongly against; 7 = Strongly in favor of). A 2 (target status) x 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA conducted on participants' responses to this question yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 4058.23, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .96$, with participants in the conformer condition rating the target as less favorable toward the proposal ($M = 1.31, SD = .71$) than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 6.63, SD = .43$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .06, p = .81, \eta_p^2 = 0$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 1.43, p = .23, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. Also, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 1.84 , all p s $> .18$, all η_p^2 s $< .01$).

The second question was, “How much do you think most other Pitt students would agree with the speaker’s opinion about the thesis proposal?” (1 = Not at all; 7 = Very much). The ANOVA conducted on responses to this question yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 558.85, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .74$, with participants in the conformer condition rating other Pitt students as agreeing more with the speaker ($M = 5.40, SD = .99$) than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 2.60, SD = .67$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .15, p = .70, \eta_p^2 = .001$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 1.87, p = .17, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. Moreover, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 2.81 , all p s $> .10$, all η_p^2 s $< .01$).

An additional question assessed participants' perceptions of the target's perceived similarity to themselves, "How similar is the speaker to you?" (1 = Not at all similar; 7 = Very similar) (see Tables 5B and 6B). The ANOVA conducted on responses to this question yielded a significant target status main effect, $F(1, 192) = 76.99, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .29$, with the conforming target seen as more similar ($M = 3.4, SD = .09$) than the deviant target ($M = 2.35, SD = .09$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .15, p = .70, \eta_p^2 = .001$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 1.93, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. Also, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 2.09 , all p s $> .15$, all η_p^2 s $< .01$).

Overall, participants' perceptions of the target were accurate. Participants perceived the target's position on the thesis requirement as less favorable in the conformer than in the deviate condition. Participants also perceived the target's position as more normative among Pitt students in the conformer than in the deviate condition. Finally, participants perceived that the conformer was more similar to themselves than was the deviate.

2.2.3.2 Task engagement. We predicted that participants whose regulatory focus was sustained by the target's advocacy style would be more engaged in the task of evaluating the target than would participants whose regulatory focus was not sustained by the target's advocacy style.

2.2.3.3 Discussion length. Longer discussion times were predicted in fit conditions (cells 1, 3, 6, and 8 in Table 2B) than in nonfit conditions (cells 2, 4, 5, and 7). Discussion times (in seconds) were log-transformed due to non-normality (non-transformed times are presented for clarity) (see Tables 5B and 6B). One group was dropped from the analysis because its discussion time was more than three box lengths from the hinge of the box in a box-plot graph (Parke, 2012). A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA on transformed

discussion times yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 191) = 13.13, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$, such that participants in the conformer condition had shorter discussions ($M = 340.37, SD = 222.93$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = 420.23, SD = 207.27$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 191) = 2.10, p = .15, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 191) = .70, p = .41, \eta_p^2 = .004$, was significant. In addition, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 2.20 , all p s $> .14$, all η_p^2 s $< .01$).

2.2.3.4 Self-report measure of task engagement. In addition to using discussion time to assess task engagement, we also included a self-report measure of this construct (see Tables 5B and 6B). A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on responses to the question, “How engaged did you feel during the second group discussion – the one concerning the video?” (1 = Not at all engaged; 7 = Very engaged). This analysis revealed a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 30.01, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14$, with groups in the conformer condition reporting less engagement during the discussion ($M = 4.90, SD = .09$) than groups in the deviate condition ($M = 5.57, SD = .09$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .28, p = .60, \eta_p^2 = .001$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 1.06, p > .31, \eta_p^2 = .005$, was significant. Also, the regulatory focus X target advocacy style interaction, $F(1, 192) = .74, p = .39, \eta_p^2 = .004$, the regulatory focus X target status interaction, $F(1, 192) = .001, p = .98, \eta_p^2 < .001$, and the three-way interaction, $F(1, 192) = .84, p = .36, \eta_p^2 = .004$, were not significant.

However, the target status X target advocacy style interaction was significant, $F(1, 192) = 4.35, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 3C). This interaction was decomposed by target status. Simple effects analyses yielded a significant difference between the deviate eager and deviate vigilant conditions, $F(1, 192) = 4.85, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants in the deviate eager

condition ($M = 5.38$, $SD = .12$) reported less engagement than participants in the deviate vigilant condition ($M = 5.75$, $SD = .12$). The difference between the conformer eager and conformer vigilant conditions was not significant, $F(1, 192) = .56$, $p = .46$, $\eta_p^2 < .01^2$.

In sum, then, neither of the measures of engagement demonstrated the predicted interaction between participants' regulatory focus and target's advocacy style, namely that fit between regulatory focus and advocacy style would produce more engagement than non-fit. However, there were significant differences between the conformer and deviate conditions on both measures of engagement. Participants in the conformer condition were *less* engaged than participants in the deviate condition in terms of both discussion time and self-reported engagement in the discussion task. It is plausible that when people encounter something they do not expect (i.e., a person expressing a highly deviate opinion), this increases their interest in the person and their effort to understand why he/she is espousing this position. We also obtained a significant target status X target advocacy style interaction on self-reported engagement, such that participants in the deviate eager condition reported less engagement than participants in the deviate vigilant condition. Perhaps it is more surprising to encounter a deviate position framed in vigilant terms than eager terms, which in turn produces more interest in the former case. It is important to note, however, that this interaction did not occur on the behavioral measure of engagement and did not constrain the target status main effect on self-reported engagement.

² The interaction was also decomposed by target advocacy style. Simple effects analyses yielded significant differences between the conformer eager and deviate eager conditions, $F(1, 192) = 5.75$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants in the conformer eager condition ($M = 4.97$, $SD = .12$) reported less engagement than participants in the deviate eager condition ($M = 5.38$, $SD = .12$). The difference between the conformer vigilant and deviate vigilant conditions was also significant, $F(1, 192) = 28.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$ such that participants in the conformer vigilant condition reported less engagement ($M = 4.85$, $SD = .12$) than participants in the deviate vigilant condition ($M = 5.75$, $SD = .12$).

2.2.3.5 Feeling right. In order to investigate another possible mediator of the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation and opinion change, we included a self-report measure of "feeling right" (see Tables 5B and 6B). A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was also conducted on responses to the question, "How right do you feel about your evaluations of the speaker and his message?" (1= Not at all right; 7 = Very right). This analysis yielded a significant main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = 5.24, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants in the promotion condition felt less right about their evaluations ($M = 5.48, SD = .68$) than participants in the prevention condition ($M = 5.69, SD = .65$). In addition, a main effect of target status was significant, $F(1, 192) = 7.00, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that participants in the conformer condition felt more right about their evaluations ($M = 5.71, SD = .66$) than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 5.46, SD = .67$). Neither the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .184, p = .67, \eta_p^2 = .001$, nor any interaction (all F s < 1.66, all p s > .20, all η_p^2 s < .01) was significant.

In contrast to findings on engagement, where participants were less engaged in the conformer than in the deviate condition, participants felt more right about their evaluations in the former than in the latter condition. As noted in the following section, participants evaluated the target more positively in the conformer than in the deviate condition. Perhaps participants felt more right about making positive than negative evaluations because positive evaluations were easier to make, as indicated by the fact that participants spent less time making these evaluations. We also found that participants in the promotion condition felt less right about their evaluations than did participants in the prevention condition. A plausible interpretation of this finding is not obvious.

2.2.3.6 Target evaluation. We expected that, overall, conformers would receive more positive evaluations than would deviates. In addition, we predicted that regulatory fit would intensify those reactions. More specifically, we expected that evaluations of conformers would be more positive in fit conditions (cells 1 and 6 in Table 3B) than in nonfit conditions (cells 2 and 5), whereas evaluations of deviates would be more negative in fit conditions (cells 3 and 8) than in nonfit conditions (cells 4 and 7).

Participants rated the target and his message on eight scales (likeability, intelligence, trustworthiness, competence, persuasiveness, convincingness, coherence, and reasonableness). A principal components factor analysis using a Varimax rotation was conducted on responses to these scales. This analysis yielded one factor with an eigenvalue above one which accounted for 65.70% of the variance. Furthermore, a reliability analysis conducted on a scale composed of the items that loaded on the factor yielded satisfactory reliability ($\alpha = .91$). Therefore, this scale was used in subsequent analyses (see Tables 5B and 6B).

A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on composite evaluation scores. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 34.84, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$, such that participants in the conformer condition rated the target more favorably ($M = 4.41, SD = .09$) than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 3.65, SD = .09$). The main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 5.42, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .03$, was also significant, such that participants in the eager condition ($M = 4.69, SD = .15$) rated the target more favorably than participants in the vigilant condition ($M = 4.12, SD = .15$). The main effect of regulatory focus was not significant, $F(1, 192) = .10, p = .75, \eta_p^2 = .001$. Also, the regulatory focus X target advocacy style interaction, $F(1, 192) = 1.93, p = .17, \eta_p^2 = .01$, the regulatory focus X target status interaction, $F(1, 192) = 2.85, p = .09, \eta_p^2 = .02$, and the three-way interaction, $F(1, 192) = 1.64, p < .20, \eta_p^2 = .01$, were not significant.

However, the interaction between target status and target advocacy style was significant, $F(1, 192) = 4.39, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 4C). This interaction was decomposed by target status. Simple effects analyses yielded a significant difference between the conformer eager and conformer vigilant conditions, $F(1, 192) = 9.78, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .05$, such that participants in the conformer eager condition rated the target significantly higher ($M = 4.69, SD = .13$) than participants in the conformer vigilant condition ($M = 4.12, SD = .13$). However, there was no significant difference between the deviate eager and deviate vigilant conditions, $F(1, 192) = .03, p = .87, \eta_p^2 < .001$ ³.

These results were partially consistent with our hypotheses. As predicted, conforming targets received significantly higher evaluations than did deviating targets. However, these evaluations were not stronger under conditions of regulatory fit than non-fit. In addition, we found a significant target status X target advocacy style interaction indicating that in the conformer condition the eager target was evaluated more favorably than the vigilant target, whereas in the deviate condition the two targets were evaluated approximately equally. This interaction is difficult to explain, as it is not consistent with findings regarding either engagement or feeling right. Importantly, however, it did not constrain the main effect of target status on evaluations.

2.2.3.7 Opinion change. Based on the results of the pilot study, it was assumed that participants' initial opinions on the senior thesis proposal would be quite negative. To test this

³ The interaction was also decomposed by target advocacy style. Simple effects analyses yielded significant differences between the conformer eager and deviate eager conditions, $F(1, 192) = 31.99, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14$, such that participants in the conformer eager condition rated the target significantly higher ($M = 4.69, SD = .13$) than participants in the deviate eager condition ($M = 3.66, SD = .13$). Similarly, there was also a significant difference between the conformer vigilant and deviate vigilant ratings, $F(1, 192) = 7.25, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that participants in the conformer vigilant condition rated the target more positively ($M = 4.12, SD = .13$) than participants in the deviate vigilant condition ($M = 3.63, SD = .13$).

assumption, participants' opinions regarding the thesis requirement were measured after the group initially voted on this issue (“What is your current position on the senior these proposal?”; 1 = Strongly against it; 7 = Strongly in favor of it) At this point, participants’ regulatory focus had been manipulated but not target status or target advocacy style. A one-way ANOVA comparing the responses of participants in the promotion and prevention conditions indicated that (a) there was no significant effect of regulatory focus (promotion: $M = 2.10$, $SD = .64$; prevention: $M = 1.96$, $SD = .74$; $F(1, 198) = 2.03$, $p = .16$, $\eta^2 = .01$) and (b) across conditions, participants strongly opposed the thesis requirement ($M = 2.03$, $SD = .70$).

Participants’ opinions regarding the senior thesis requirement were also measured a second time after the group discussed the speaker and his message (“What is your current position on the senior these proposal?”; 1 = Strongly against it; 7 = Strongly in favor of it) (see Tables 5B and 6B). Difference scores were calculated by subtracting participants’ first opinion from their second opinion, such that positive scores indicate movement toward the deviate opinion (in favor of the thesis requirement) and negative scores indicate movement toward the normative opinion (opposed to the thesis requirement) (see Tables 5B and 6B). A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA conducted on these difference scores yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 6.98$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, such that participants in the conformer condition became less favorable toward the thesis requirement ($M = -.13$, $SD = .36$) whereas participants in the deviate condition showed basically no change ($M = .01$, $SD = .38$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = 2.20$, $p = .14$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .34$, $p = .56$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$, was significant. Moreover, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 3.49, all p s > .06, all η_p^2 s < .02).

A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was also conducted on responses to the second attitudinal measure. This analysis yielded a significant

main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 3.94, p = .049, \eta_p^2 = .02$, such that participants in the conformer condition were less favorable toward the thesis requirement ($M = 1.87, SD = .07$) than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 2.06, SD = .07$). The main effects of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .44, p = .51, \eta_p^2 = .002$, and target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .88, p = .35, \eta_p^2 = .02$, were not significant. Moreover, the regulatory focus X target advocacy style interaction, $F(1, 192) = .44, p = .51, \eta_p^2 = .002$, the regulatory focus X target status interaction, $F(1, 192) = .78, p = .39, \eta_p^2 = .004$, and the three-way interaction, $F(1, 192) = .64, p = .42, \eta_p^2 = .003$, were not significant.

However, the target status X target advocacy style interaction was significant, $F(1, 192) = 5.12, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$ (see Figure 5C). This interaction was decomposed by target status. Simple effects analyses yielded a significant difference in the deviate condition, $F(1, 192) = 5.13, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants in the deviate eager condition were more favorable toward the thesis requirement ($M = 2.2, SD = .10$) than participants in the deviate vigilant condition ($M = 1.91, SD = .10$). There was no significant difference in the conformer condition, $F(1, 192) = .88, p = .35, \eta_p^2 = .01^4$.

In summary, prior to the manipulation of target status and target advocacy style, participants were strongly opposed to the thesis requirement in both the promotion and prevention conditions. Moreover, in analyses (a) comparing participants' responses on the first and second attitudinal measures and (b) focusing exclusively on their responses on the second measure, we found suggestive evidence for minority influence on the part of the deviate target.

⁴ The interaction was also decomposed by target advocacy style. This analysis yielded a significant difference between the two eager conditions, $F(1, 192) = 9.02, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .05$, such that in the conformer eager condition participants were less favorable toward the thesis requirement ($M = 1.81, SD = .10$) than participants in the deviate eager condition ($M = 2.21, SD = .10$). There was no difference between the two vigilant conditions, $F(1, 192) = .04, p = .84, \eta_p^2 < .001$.

More specifically, in the former analysis, compared to the conformer target, the deviate target reduced participants' tendency to move further toward the normative position (but did not induce them to move toward the deviate position). In the latter analysis, compared to the conformer target, the deviate target increased participants' agreement with the deviate position (and reduced their agreement with the normative position). The former analysis, in contrast to our predictions, indicated more change in the conformer than deviate condition. However, the latter analysis indicated that the deviate target was in fact able to exert some influence on participants' opinion. We also obtained a significant interaction between target status and target advocacy style on the second attitudinal measure indicating that a deviate using an eager style was particularly persuasive. This finding is interesting in light of prior work demonstrating that a minority's behavioral style is an important determinant of his/her ability to exert influence (e.g., Hansen & Levine, 2009; Moscovici, 1980). Importantly, regulatory fit did not create increased persuasiveness for either the conformer or deviate target.

2.2.3.8 Mediation relationships. We predicted that task engagement would mediate the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation (increased liking for conformers and decreased liking for deviates). That is, we expected that the intensification of participants' evaluation of the target produced by regulatory fit would be substantially reduced or eliminated when task engagement was taken into account. We made a parallel, though more tentative, prediction regarding opinion change. These hypotheses could not be tested because the initial necessary causal relationships between variables were not obtained. That is, regulatory fit did not significantly influence either target evaluation or opinion change, on the one hand, or task engagement, on the other hand, which are necessary initial steps in establishing mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

2.2.3.9 Perceived group agreement. Questions assessed participants' perceptions of group agreement regarding (a) the senior thesis requirement and (b) evaluation of the target (see Tables 5B and 6B).

2.2.3.10 Thesis requirement. A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on responses to the question, “To what extent did the members of your group agree about whether the senior thesis should be implemented at Pitt?” (1 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal). None of the three main effects was significant: regulatory focus ($F(1, 192) = 3.50, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .02$); target status ($F(1, 192) = 1.64, p = .20, \eta_p^2 = .01$); target advocacy style ($F(1, 192) = .173, p = .68, \eta_p^2 = .001$). In addition, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 2.88, all p s > .09, all η_p^2 s < .02). These findings indicate that perceived group agreement did not differ across conditions. Overall, perceived agreement was high ($M = 5.33, SD = 1.37$).

2.2.3.11 Target evaluation. A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on responses to the question, “To what extent did the members of your group agree in their evaluations of the speaker?” (1 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal). The main effect of target status was significant, $F(1, 192) = 24.20, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$, such that participants in the conformer condition ($M = 6.30, SD = .70$) perceived more group agreement about the evaluation of the target than participants in the deviate condition ($M = 5.63, SD = 1.16$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .06, p = .81, \eta_p^2 < .001$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .35, p = .56, \eta_p^2 = .002$, was significant. Also, the regulatory focus X target advocacy style interaction $F(1, 192) = .41, p = .52, \eta_p^2 = .002$, the regulatory focus X target status interaction, $F(1, 192) = .002, p = .96, \eta_p^2 < .001$, and the three-way interaction, $F(1, 192) = .06, p = .81, \eta_p^2 < .001$, were not significant.

However, the target status X target advocacy style interaction was significant, $F(1, 192) = 5.58, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .03$ (see Figure 6C). This interaction was decomposed by target status. Simple effects analyses found a significant difference in the conformer condition, $F(1, 192) = 4.36, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$, such that participants in the conformer eager condition perceived higher agreement ($M = 6.50, SD = .14$) than participants in the conformer vigilant condition ($M = 6.10, SD = .14$). There was no significant difference between the deviate eager and the deviate vigilant conditions, $F(1, 192) = 1.57, p = .21, \eta_p^2 = .01$ ⁵.

In summary, participants in the conformer condition perceived more group agreement about the evaluation of the target than did participants in the deviate condition. Perceptions of group agreement might be lower in the case of deviates because their unexpected position elicits greater divergence of views among participants than does the expected position of conformers. Such an interpretation is consistent with our findings that participants spent more time discussing deviates than conformers and felt more engaged while doing so. The significant interaction between target status and target advocacy style indicated that the eager conformer elicited the most perceived agreement. This may have occurred because this particular combination of target status and advocacy style was strongly expected.

2.2.3.12 Perceived group cohesion. A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on responses to the question, “To what extent did the members of your group get along with one another?” (1 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal). This

⁵ The interaction was also decomposed by target advocacy style. Simple effects analyses found significant differences in the eager condition, $F(1, 192) = 26.51, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$, such that participants in the conformer eager condition had higher perceived agreement ($M = 6.50, SD = .14$) than participants in the deviate eager condition ($M = 5.51, SD = .14$). The difference between the conformer vigilant and the deviate vigilant conditions, was marginally significant, $F(1, 192) = 3.27, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .02$.

analysis found no significant main effects or interactions (all F s < 3.82, all p s > .05, all η_p^2 s < .02)⁶. Overall, groups were perceived to get along well ($M = 6.51$, $SD = .70$).

2.2.3.13 Desire to participate again with group. A 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on responses to the question, “If you were to participate in another group experiment, how much would you like to participate with the people in your group in today’s session?” (1 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal). This analysis found no significant main effects or interactions (all F s < 3.41, all p s > .07, all η_p^2 s < .02). Overall, participants reported that they desired to participate with the same group again ($M = 5.98$, $SD = .70$).

2.2.3.14 Group discussions. As mentioned previously, we recorded and analyzed the second group discussion (in which the group evaluated the target) in order to examine communication patterns within groups. These analyses allowed us to investigate whether discussions of conforming targets focused on different topics than discussions of deviating targets. In addition, we examined whether discussions of conformers were more positive than discussions of deviates and whether regulatory fit/nonfit influenced the content of the discussions and their positivity/negativity.

The discussions were transcribed and divided into speaking turns, defined as utterances from one speaker that were at least five words long. Shorter utterances were typically filler speech, like “um....” or “okay,” that did not contain meaningful content. The average number of

⁶ When chronic regulatory focus was added as a covariate, the main effect for target status was significant, $F(1, 191) = 3.92$, $p = .049$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, with groups in the conformer condition ($M = 6.45$, $SD = .52$) reporting lower cohesion than groups in the deviate condition ($M = 6.58$, $SD = .44$).

speaking turns per discussion was 47.61 ($SD = 30.36$) with a range of 8 to 254. Mean words per speaking turn was 26.68.

2.2.3.15 Number of words uttered. Earlier we reported analyses of discussion length designed to assess group members' engagement in the task. The number of words uttered by a group provides an alternative measure of engagement, such that the more words a group utters, the more engaged it is in the discussion. Not surprisingly, across groups, the number of words uttered was strongly correlated with the discussion length (in seconds), $r(198) = .95, p < .01$. The number of words uttered by each group was square root transformed due to non-normality; for the sake of clarity, non-transformed means are presented. A 2 (regulatory focus) \times 2 (target status) \times 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA on words uttered yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 17.30, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .08$, such that groups in the conformer condition uttered fewer words ($M = 1026.65, SD = 603.73$) than did groups in the deviate condition ($M = 1353.01, SD = 651.98$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = 2.43, p = .12, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 2.79, p = .10, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. In addition, none of the interactions was significant (all F s $< .75$, all p s $> .39$, all η_p^2 s $< .004$). These results mirrored earlier analyses on discussion length, in which groups in the conformer condition had shorter discussion times than groups in the deviate condition and none of the remaining main effects or interactions was significant.

2.2.3.16 Number of speaking turns. Another potential measure of engagement is the number of speaking turns, such that the more speaking turns a group has, the more engaged it is in the discussion. Across groups, the number of speaking turns was highly correlated with discussion length, $r(198) = .83, p < .01$. A 2 (regulatory focus) \times 2 (target status) \times 2 (target advocacy style)

ANOVA on speaking turns yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 12.75, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$, such that groups in the conformer condition had fewer speaking turns ($M = 40.13, SD = 23.18$) than did groups in the deviate condition ($M = 55.09, SD = 34.67$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .48, p = .49, \eta_p^2 = .002$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 2.35, p = .13, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. In addition, none of the interactions was significant (all F s $< .79$, all p s $> .38$, all η_p^2 s $< .004$). These results mirrored those on both discussion length and words uttered.

2.2.3.17 Content of group discussions. In order to analyze the content of the discussions, each speaking turn was placed into one of seven categories: statements or evaluations of the target's position; statements or evaluations of the target's arguments; statements or evaluations of the target as a person; statements or evaluations of the target's presentation style; reiterations or elaborations of the group's position; suggestions for modifications to the senior thesis proposal; and other. These categories were selected to provide broad coverage of the kinds of communication that might relate to participants' evaluation of the target and their opinion change.

Two coders independently assigned each speaking turn in 50 discussions to one of the seven categories. Cohen's Kappa ($\kappa = .70$) indicated substantial intercoder agreement according to the reference values determined by Landis and Koch (1977). Therefore, one coder assigned speaking turns to categories in the remaining 150 discussions.

Examples of speaking turns assigned to each category are as follows:

Statements or evaluations of the target's position: "No, he went literally went against like, what we said exactly."; "Well, I'd have to say I agreed with a lot of the stuff he was saying..."; "I agree. He made a lot of good points I agreed with, pretty much everything he said." Across conditions, 4.44% ($SD = .06$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Statements or evaluations of the target's arguments: "Yeah, I liked the idea about the internships..."; "...they will accomplish less in their courses, that's true."; "The research jobs, that was a good point". Across conditions, 15.93% ($SD = .09$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Statements or evaluations of the target as a person: "...I think he was you know, liberal arts major"; "This guy who wrote this really seemed like he was not the type of person to blow off his courses..."; "Yeah he seems like a lazy student...". Across conditions, 1.08% ($SD = .03$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Statements or evaluations of the target's presentation style: "And this guy's writing isn't like, terrible..."; "His writing could uh...use some improvement"; "It seemed like he wrote this really quickly..." Across conditions, 1.98% ($SD = .04$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Reiterations or elaborations of the group's position: "Right you need some down time. You can't be working 24/7."; "Yeah, there's only so many hours in a week that one can dedicate to working on school stuff..."; "Yeah, that's a good point. GPA would be hurt and if you're tryin' to get into graduate school..." Across conditions, 30.17% ($SD = .12$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Suggestions for modifications to the senior thesis proposal: "...maybe just a research project at the end would be more appropriate."; "...unless Pitt modified its entire, like um, degree program. Like, you know, drop the credits down or something..."; "... maybe five theses that are shorter, or something, like internship opportunity that spans for two terms..." Across conditions, 2.23% ($SD = .03$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

Other: For example, “Yeah...um...I guess that's it. Anything else?”; “Did you wanna say something?”; “So hold on a sec, do you know a girl named Danielle?”. Across conditions, 44.16% ($SD = .15$) of speaking turns were assigned to this category.

For each of the seven categories, a 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on the percentage of speaking turns in the eight conditions. These percentages were arcsine transformed to normalize the distributions, but non-transformed percentages are presented for clarity (see Tables 7B and 8B).

2.2.3.18 Statements/evaluations of the target’s position. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 23.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$, such that participants in the conformer condition spoke more about the target’s position ($M = 6.31\%, SD = .07$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = 2.57\%, SD = .03$). The main effects of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .002, p = .97, \eta_p^2 < .001$, and target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .03, p = .86, \eta_p^2 < .001$, were not significant. In addition, none of the interactions was significant (all $F_s < 3.38$, all $p_s > .07$, all $\eta_p^2_s < .02$).

2.2.3.19 Statements/evaluations of the target’s arguments. The analysis yielded no significant main effects (all $F_s < 1.49$, all $p_s > .22$, all $\eta_p^2_s < .01$). In addition, neither the interaction between target status and target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .92, p = .34, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor the three-way interaction, $F(1, 192) = .45, p = .50, \eta_p^2 = .002$, was significant. However, the two remaining two-way interactions were significant.

The interaction between regulatory focus and target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 6.25, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$, was decomposed by target advocacy style (see Figure 7C). Simple effects analyses found a significant difference in the eager condition, $F(1, 192) = 4.00, p = .047, \eta_p^2 = .02$, such that participants in the promotion condition spoke more about the target’s arguments ($M =$

17.87%, $SD = .11$) than did participants in the prevention condition ($M = 14.07\%$, $SD = .07$). Although there was no significant difference as a function of target advocacy style in the vigilant condition, $F(1, 192) = 2.35$, $p = .13$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, participants in the prevention condition spoke more about the target's arguments ($M = 17.39\%$, $SD = .11$) than did participants in the promotion condition ($M = 14.38\%$, $SD = .08$). This overall pattern of results indicates that participants in fit conditions discussed the target's arguments more than did participants in nonfit conditions⁷.

The interaction between regulatory focus and target status, $F(1, 192) = 4.96$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, was decomposed by regulatory focus (see Figure 8C). Simple effects analyses found a significant difference in the promotion condition, $F(1, 192) = 5.95$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, such that participants in the conformer condition talked more about the target's arguments ($M = 18.36\%$, $SD = .11$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = 13.90\%$, $SD = .08$). There was no significant difference between the prevention conformer and prevention deviate conditions, $F(1, 192) = .51$, $p = .48$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$ ⁸.

2.2.3.20 Statements/evaluations of the target as a person. The analysis yielded no significant main effects (all F s < .55 all p s > .46, all η_p^2 s < .003) or interactions (all F s < .51, all p s > .48, all η_p^2 s < .003). As Tables 7B and 8B indicate, there was very little discussion of the target as a person across conditions.

⁷ The interaction was also decomposed by regulatory focus. This analysis yielded no significant difference in either the promotion condition, $F(1, 192) = 3.34$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, or the prevention condition, $F(1, 192) = 2.91$, $p = .09$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

⁸ The interaction was also decomposed by target status. This analysis yielded no significant difference in either the conformer, $F(1, 192) = 3.27$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, or the deviate, $F(1, 192) = 1.80$, $p = .18$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, condition.

2.2.3.21 Statements/evaluations of the target's presentation style. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 13.12, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$, such that participants in the conformer condition spoke more about the target's presentation style ($M = 3.04\%$, $SD = .06$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = .93\%$, $SD = .02$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .02, p = .90, \eta_p^2 < .001$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = 0.0, p = .99, \eta_p^2 < .001$, was significant. Moreover, the interaction between regulatory focus and target status, the interaction between target advocacy style and target status, and the three way interaction were all nonsignificant (all F s < 3.09 , all p s $> .08$, all η_p^2 s $< .02$). However, the interaction between regulatory focus and target advocacy style was significant, $F(1, 192) = 4.32, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 9C).

This interaction was decomposed by regulatory focus. Simple effects analyses found no significant difference in either the promotion condition, $F(1, 192) = 2.17, p = .14, \eta_p^2 = .01$, or the prevention condition, $F(1, 192) = 2.14, p = .15, \eta_p^2 = .01^9$. The overall pattern of data suggests that participants who experienced regulatory fit discussed the target's presentation style less than did participants who did not experience regulatory fit.

2.2.3.22 Reiterations/elaborations of the group's position. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 7.67, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that participants in the conformer condition ($M = 28.03\%$, $SD = .13$) reiterated and elaborated the group's position less than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = 32.32\%$, $SD = .11$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .42, p = .52, \eta_p^2 = .002$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style,

⁹ The interaction was also decomposed by target advocacy style. This analysis yielded no significant difference in either the eager, $F(1, 192) = 2.42, p = .12, \eta_p^2 = .01$, or the vigilant, $F(1, 192) = 1.91, p = .17, \eta_p^2 = .01$, condition.

$F(1, 192) = .13, p = .72, \eta_p^2 = .001$, was significant. Moreover, none of the interactions was significant (all F s < .53, all p s > .47, all η_p^2 s < .003).

2.2.3.23 Suggestions/modifications to the thesis proposal. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 192) = 13.92, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$, such that participants in the conformer condition suggested fewer modifications to the proposal ($M = 1.47\%, SD = .03$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = 2.99\%, SD = .04$). The main effects of regulatory focus, $F(1, 192) = .11, p = .74, \eta_p^2 = .001$, and target advocacy style, $F(1, 192) = .001, p = .97, \eta_p^2 < .001$, were not significant, and none of the interactions was significant (all F s < 1.60, all p s > .21, all η_p^2 s < .01).

2.2.3.24 Other. The analysis yielded no significant main effects (all F s < .95, all p s > .33, all η_p^2 s < .01) or interactions (all F s < .91, all p s > .34, all η_p^2 s < .01). As Tables 7B and 8B indicate, a high percentage of "other" comments were made across conditions.

2.2.3.25 Summary. In terms of main effects, results indicated that participants in the deviate condition reiterated and elaborated the group's position more and suggested more modifications to the thesis proposal than did participants in the conformer condition, but they talked less about the target's position and presentation style. These results are interesting when considered in conjunction with earlier findings indicating that participants in the deviate condition were generally more engaged than were those in the conformer condition. The content of group discussions indicates that the heightened engagement in the deviate condition was associated with some kinds of comments but not with others. That is, the presence of a deviate (as opposed to a conformer) caused participants to focus on their own position and the topic under consideration,

suggesting that the deviate threatened participants' notion of shared reality, which in turn stimulated them to reinforce it through discussion with like-minded others.

In terms of interactions, suggestive evidence for the impact of regulatory fit was obtained. Specifically, participants in fit conditions discussed the target's arguments more and discussed the target's presentation style less than did participants in nonfit conditions. These findings can be interpreted in terms of participants' focus on the task. Discussion of the target's arguments is arguably more relevant to the task participants were asked to perform than is discussion of the target's presentation style. Thus, participants experiencing regulatory fit may have been more task-focused than participants not experiencing regulatory fit.

2.2.3.26 Valence of comments. Measuring the valence of comments made more sense in four of the content categories (statements/evaluations of the target's position, the target's arguments, the target as a person, and the target's presentation) than in the remaining categories (reiterations/elaborations of the group's position, suggestions/modifications to the thesis proposal, and other). Therefore, two coders were given transcripts of 50 discussions with each speaking turn from one of these four categories highlighted and were asked to code each speaking turn as either negative, neutral, or positive. While doing their task, coders listened to the audio recording of the discussion to allow them to make use of auditory cues. The intraclass correlation coefficient used to measure intercoder reliability ($ICC = .76$) was above the minimally acceptable level of .60 (Ostroff & Schmitt, 1993). Therefore, one coder evaluated the valence of speaking turns in the four categories in the remaining 150 discussions.

For two of the categories for which valence was coded (statements/evaluations of the target's position and the target's arguments), a substantial number of groups discussed the category (142 groups, ranging from 13-21 per condition, for the target's position; 199 groups,

ranging from 24-25 per condition, for the target's arguments). However, for the remaining two categories (statements/evaluations of the target as a person and the target's presentation style), far fewer groups discussed the category (47 groups, ranging from 4-8 groups per condition, for the target as a person; 71 groups, ranging from 3-14 per condition, for the target's presentation style). Therefore, valence results were analyzed only for statements/evaluations of the target's position and the target's arguments. For each of these categories, a 2 (regulatory focus) x 2 (target status) x 2 (target advocacy style) ANOVA was conducted on valence scores. Valence scores were calculated by subtracting the number of negative utterances in each category from the number of positive utterances and dividing by the total number of negative, neutral, and positive comments in that category (see Tables 9B and 10B). Groups that did not discuss a category at all were dropped from the relevant analysis.

2.2.3.27 Valence of statements/evaluations of the target's position. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 134) = 22.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$, such that participants in the conformer condition spoke more positively about the target's position ($M = .20, SD = .50$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = -.25, SD = .58$). Neither the main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 134) = .94, p = .33, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor the main effect of target advocacy style, $F(1, 134) = .77, p = .38, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was significant. Moreover, none of the interactions was significant (all F s $< .53$, all p s $> .47$, all η_p^2 s $< .004$).

2.2.3.28 Valence of statements/evaluation of the target's arguments. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of target status, $F(1, 191) = 69.72, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .27$, such that participants in the conformer condition spoke more positively about the target's arguments ($M = .07, SD = .50$) than did participants in the deviate condition ($M = -.43, SD = .36$). The main

effect of target advocacy style was also significant, $F(1, 191) = 8.23, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that participants in the eager condition spoke more positively about the target's arguments ($M = -.10, SD = .50$) than did participants in the vigilant condition ($M = -.27, SD = .49$). The main effect of regulatory focus, $F(1, 191) = 1.43, p = .23, \eta_p^2 = .01$, was not significant, and none of the interactions was significant (all $F_s < 1.77$, all $p_s > .19$, all $\eta_p^2_s < .01$).

2.2.3.29 Summary. Participants spoke more positively about the target's position and arguments in the conformer condition than in the deviate condition. This is consistent with earlier findings indicating that the conforming target was more liked than the deviating target. Participants also evaluated eager arguments more positively than vigilant arguments. An interpretation of this result is not obvious, given that pilot testing of the eager and vigilant arguments did not find this difference.

2.2.3.30 Correlations between target evaluations and features of discussions. In order to explore relationships between participants' evaluations of the target and both the content and valence of participants' comments during group discussions, a series of correlational analyses were conducted.

2.2.3.31 Content of group discussions. Only content categories which yielded main effects of target status were used in the correlational analyses -- statements/evaluations of the target's position, statements/evaluations of the target's presentational style, reiterations/elaborations of the group's position, and suggestions/modifications to the thesis proposal (in all cases, rate measures were used) (Table 11B). As the table indicates, target evaluations were significantly and positively correlated with discussion of the target's position in the conformer condition and

suggestions to modify the thesis proposal in the deviate condition. Moreover, target evaluations were significantly and negatively correlated with discussion of the target's presentational style in both the conformer and deviate conditions.

2.2.3.32 Valence of group discussions. Only the two categories for which valence was analyzed -- statements/evaluations of the target's position and the target's arguments -- were used in the correlational analyses. As Table 12B indicates, evaluations of both the conformer and deviate were significantly and positively correlated with the valence of both kinds of statements/evaluations.

2.2.3.33 Summary. Although causal relations cannot be confidently inferred on the basis of these correlations, some speculations can be offered. The positive correlation between discussion of the target's position and evaluations of the target in the conformer condition may have occurred because, in this condition, participants' discussion highlighted their similarity to the target, which in turn increased their evaluations of the target. Interestingly, we did not find the opposite effect (a negative correlation between discussion of the target's position and evaluations of the target) in the deviate condition. The positive correlation between suggestions to modify the proposal and target evaluations in the deviate condition may have occurred because suggestions were designed to develop a "compromise" proposal, which in turn caused participants to become less hostile toward the person with whom they were compromising. The negative correlations between discussion of the target's presentational style and target evaluations in both the conformer and deviate conditions may have occurred because the vast majority of comments about the target's presentation style were negative (e.g., criticizing his writing style). Thus, the more participants discussed this negative aspect of the target, the more negatively they perceived

him. Finally, the positive correlations between the valence of statements about the target's position and arguments, on the one hand, and target evaluations, on the other hand, in both the conformer and the deviate conditions suggest that the more positively participants spoke about the target, the more positively they perceived him.

3.0 DISCUSSION

Previous research has found that group members often gain social approval by conforming to injunctive norms and social disapproval by deviating from those norms (Levine, 1989; Levine & Kerr, 2007). Two major theoretical frameworks have been offered to explain these effects. In an early formulation, Festinger (1950) suggested that deviates from group consensus threaten other members' need for social reality and their need to locomote toward collective goals (see Levine & Kerr, 2007, for a review of relevant research). More recently, social identity theory has been used to derive hypotheses about reaction to deviance. For example, research on the "black sheep effect" is based on the premise that ingroup deviates are evaluated less positively than both outgroup members holding the same position and ingroup conformers because doing so allows group members to preserve the positivity of their group's identity and thus their own social identity (see Abrams et al., 2005, for a review of relevant research).

Regulatory Fit Theory provides another potentially useful framework for understanding reaction to deviance. This theory is an extension of Regulatory Focus Theory, which examines the consequences of framing goals in different ways. Regulatory Focus Theory suggests that people can approach goals with either a promotion or a prevention focus. Promotion-focused individuals are concerned with accomplishments and advancement towards goals, whereas prevention-focused individuals are concerned with security and not losing progress towards goals (Higgins, 2012). Regulatory Fit Theory extends Regulatory Focus Theory by proposing that the

manner in which people pursue their goals (eagerly or vigilantly) interacts with their existing regulatory focus to create regulatory fit or non-fit. Regulatory fit occurs when a person's goal orientation (regulatory focus) is sustained by the manner in which he or she pursues a goal (Higgins, 2012). Thus, someone in a promotion focus who pursues a goal in an eager way will experience regulatory fit, as will someone in a prevention focus who pursues a goal in a vigilant way.

According to Higgins (2006), because regulatory fit sustains an individual's current regulatory orientation, it leads to greater task engagement and intensification of affective reactions to salient stimuli. Higgins also postulates that task engagement mediates the impact of regulatory fit on the intensification of affective responses (Higgins, 2012). Recent studies investigating the impact of regulatory fit on evaluative responses in the domain of interpersonal evaluation are consistent with these hypotheses (Alexander et al., 2013; Hamstra et al., 2013).

3.1 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study was conducted in order to test predictions about reaction to deviates and conformers derived from Regulatory Fit Theory. A 2 (regulatory focus: promotion or prevention) x 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design was used. Members of three-person groups were first induced to have either a promotion or prevention regulatory focus and then asked to discuss and reach consensus on an opinion issue (whether their university should introduce a new senior thesis requirement). After reaching consensus on the issue (with most groups opposing the requirement), participants

watched a videotape of an ostensible student at their university stating either a deviate opinion (in favor of the thesis requirement) or a conformer opinion (opposed to the thesis requirement) using either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. Afterwards, participants discussed and evaluated the speaker and his message. Table 1B indicates the expected joint effects of the participants' regulatory focus and the target's advocacy style on their regulatory fit/non-fit in each of the eight cells of the design.

We predicted that participants whose regulatory focus was sustained by the target's advocacy style would be more engaged in evaluating the target than would participants whose regulatory focus was not sustained by the target's advocacy style. Therefore, stronger task engagement (as measured by the length of the group discussion) was expected in fit conditions (cells 1, 3, 6, and 8) than in non-fit conditions (cells 2, 4, 5, and 7) (see Table 2B).

Regarding evaluations, we expected that, overall, conformers (cells 1, 2, 5, 6) would receive more positive evaluations than would deviates (cells 3, 4, 7, 8) (see Table 3B). In addition, we predicted that regulatory fit would intensify these reactions, such that evaluations of conformers would be more positive in fit conditions (cells 1 and 6) than in nonfit conditions (cells 2 and 5), whereas evaluations of deviates would be more negative in fit conditions (cells 3 and 8) than in nonfit conditions (cells 4 and 7) (see Table 3B).

Finally, we expected that task engagement would mediate the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation (increased liking for conformers and decreased liking for deviates). That is, we expected that the intensification of participants' evaluation of the target produced by regulatory fit would be substantially reduced or eliminated when task engagement was taken into account.

For exploratory purposes, we also included a measure of participants' opinion about the message topic both before and after exposure to the target's message. To that extent that any opinion change occurred, we expected that participants in the conformer condition would become

more negative toward the thesis requirement in fit than in nonfit conditions and participants in the deviate condition would become more positive toward the thesis requirement in fit than in nonfit conditions. Finally, we recorded and analyzed the group discussions regarding the speaker and his message.

3.1.1 Pilot Study.

Prior to conducting the main experiment, a pilot study was performed to assess the adequacy of the manipulations of target status and target advocacy style. Using a 2 (target status: deviate or conformer) x 2 (target advocacy style: eager or vigilant) between-participants design, four versions of the videotaped target speaker's arguments regarding implementation of a senior thesis requirement were created. Twenty participants drawn from the same subject population as those in the main experiment watched each of the four videotapes and rated them on several scales.

Results indicated that both variables (target status; target advocacy style) were successfully manipulated in the essays. Moreover, the four versions of the essay were rated as equivalent in terms of persuasiveness, convincingness, coherence, and reasonableness.

3.1.2 Main Experiment.

The final sample was composed of 200 groups (25 in each of the eight conditions). Participants were told that they would be participating in two studies. In the "first" study, participants were induced to have either a promotion or prevention regulatory focus by writing about either a hope or an aspiration (promotion condition) or a duty or an obligation (prevention condition). In the

"second" study, participants read a description of a proposed senior thesis requirement and then discussed the proposal and decided if their group supported its implementation (all groups included in the analyses opposed implementation). After the discussion, participants individually indicated their opinion on the proposal. Next, participants watched a video of an ostensible student reading an essay that either expressed a deviate opinion (in favor of the thesis requirement) or a conformer opinion (opposed to the thesis requirement) using either an eager or a vigilant advocacy style. Participants then engaged in a discussion about the video and individually completed a questionnaire which included the dependent measures and other measures of interest.

Overall, participants perceived the target in the video accurately. That is, they perceived (a) the target's position on the thesis requirement as less favorable in the conformer than in the deviate condition and (b) the target's position as more normative among Pitt students in the conformer than in the deviate condition. Moreover, participants in the conformer condition perceived the target as more similar to themselves than did those in the deviate condition. Finally, it is worth noting that the level of perceived agreement regarding the thesis requirement was high and similar across conditions, as was the perception of group cohesion and the desire to participate again as a group.

The hypothesis that regulatory fit would increase task engagement was not confirmed on either the behavioral measure of discussion length or the self-report measure of engagement. On both measures, however, participants in the deviate condition were more engaged than those in the conformer condition. This may have occurred because encountering something they did not expect (i.e., a person expressing a deviate opinion) increased participants' interest in the person and their effort to understand why he/she espoused this position. Analyses of the number of words uttered and the number of speaking turns in group discussions yielded similar results, such

that groups in the deviate condition uttered more words and had more speaking turns than groups in the conformer condition.

In contrast to findings on engagement, participants felt more “right” about their evaluations of the target person in the conformer than in the deviate condition. These findings can be interpreted in light of the fact that, as predicted, participants evaluated a conforming target more positively than a deviating target. Perhaps participants felt more right about making positive than negative evaluations because the former evaluations were easier to make, as indicated by less time spent making these evaluations.

It is also worth noting that participants in the deviate condition perceived less group agreement about their evaluation of the target than did participants in the conformer condition. Perceptions of group agreement might be lower for deviates because their unexpected position elicits greater divergence of views among participants than does the expected position of conformers. This interpretation is consistent with evidence that participants spent more time discussing deviates than conformers and felt more engaged while doing so.

The hypothesis that regulatory fit would intensify emotional reaction to conformers and deviates was not supported. Although, as indicated above, participants rated conforming targets more positively than deviating targets, these ratings were not intensified by regulatory fit. Similarly, group discussions about the target’s position and arguments were more positive in the conformer than in the deviate condition, but the valence of the discussions was not intensified by fit.

Participants’ initial opinion regarding the thesis requirement (prior to the manipulation of target status and target advocacy style) was strongly negative across conditions. However, there was some evidence of minority influence during group discussion. In addition, there was suggestive evidence that a deviate using an eager style was particularly persuasive, consistent

with prior work demonstrating the impact of behavioral style on minority influence (e.g., Hansen & Levine, 2009; Moscovici, 1980). As with the measures discussed above, regulatory fit did not create increased persuasiveness for either the conformer or deviate target.

It was predicted that task engagement (and perhaps feeling right) would mediate the impact of regulatory fit on target evaluation (increased liking for conformers and decreased liking for deviates), and a parallel, though more tentative, prediction was made for opinion change. These hypotheses could not be tested because the initial necessary relationships between regulatory fit and (a) evaluations and opinion change and (b) task engagement/feeling right were not obtained.

Analyses of the content of the group discussions revealed that participants in the deviate condition reiterated and elaborated on the group's position more and suggested more modifications to the thesis proposal than did participants in the conformer condition. However, these participants also talked less about the target's position and presentation style. As discussed above, participants in the deviate condition were generally more engaged than were those in the conformer condition. The difference in the content of group discussions between the target status conditions indicates that the heightened engagement in the deviate condition was associated with participants' comments regarding their own position and the topic under consideration. This suggests that the deviate threatened participants' notion of shared reality, which in turn stimulated them to reinforce their view of reality through discussion with like-minded others.

Participants in fit conditions also discussed the target's arguments more and discussed the target's presentation style less than did participants in nonfit conditions. Because discussion of the target's arguments is arguably more on-task than discussion of the target's presentation style, these results might be interpreted as evidence that participants in fit conditions were more focused on the task than were participants in nonfit conditions.

Several correlations were also obtained between participants' evaluations of the target and the content and valence of participants' comments during group discussions. Target evaluations were positively correlated with discussion of the target's position in the conformer condition and suggestions to modify the thesis proposal in the deviate condition. Moreover, target evaluations were negatively correlated with discussion of the target's presentational style in both the conformer and deviate conditions. Finally, evaluations of both the conformer and deviate were positively correlated with the valence of statements/evaluations about the target's position and the target's arguments. Tentative interpretations of these findings were offered.

3.2 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In spite of the many significant and plausible effects that were obtained, the predicted effects of regulatory fit on task engagement/feeling right, evaluation of the target, and opinion change did not occur. This is surprising given that we used a standard operationalization of participants' regulatory focus (listing hopes/aspirations vs. duties/obligations), and our pilot testing indicated that the videos successfully manipulated the target's eager vs. vigilant advocacy style. Moreover, participants reported relatively high engagement in the group task, and their level of suspicion was low. Furthermore, when group chronic regulatory focus was controlled for, there were still no significant effects of regulatory fit. Finally, as noted in the Introduction, previous studies have demonstrated that regulatory fit strengthens task engagement/feeling right as well as target evaluation and that engagement/feeling right mediates the impact of fit on evaluation (Alexander et al., 2013; Hamstra et al., 2013).

Given all of these considerations, it is not clear why the present study failed to find fit effects. Nonetheless, several features of the study might have played a role. One such feature concerns our manipulation of regulatory focus. Although we used a standard manipulation of focus, perhaps too much time elapsed between the manipulation and the measurement of the dependent variables. In addition, perhaps we would have obtained stronger effects if we had manipulated regulatory focus at the group, rather than the individual, level (e.g., by framing the group's discussion goal in promotion vs. prevention terms). Another contributing feature may have been our effort to manipulate goal pursuit strategy by varying the *target's* advocacy style. Although previous studies have found that regulatory fit can be produced by varying a third party's goal pursuit strategy (e.g., Cesario & Higgins, 2008), perhaps our results would have been stronger if we had varied participants' own strategy (cf. Freitas & Higgins, 2002). Finally, two issues of statistical power may have played a role. One concerns the power of our design to detect the predicted regulatory fit interactions. Although our power analysis suggested that our design was adequate, new studies recommend much higher sample sizes (Schönbrodt & Perugini, 2013). In addition, our design was underpowered for detecting the full range of gender effects that might have occurred. This is because, within each of our eight conditions, there were four possible group gender compositions (three male; three female; two male, one female; one male, two female), and there were too few groups of each type in each condition to allow analyses of gender composition effects.

Although we did not find the hypothesized effects of regulatory fit, the findings we did obtain suggest several interesting research questions. One such finding concerns the fact that there was more engagement in the deviate condition than in the conformer condition. We interpreted this result as occurring because the deviate was unexpected and therefore participants were particularly interested in the target and the reasons for his position. In our study, it is likely

that participants assumed that most other students would agree with them about the senior thesis requirement and hence were surprised to learn that the speaker disagreed. However, there may be cases in which prior information suggests that a deviate will be encountered and thus a deviate would be expected and perhaps less interesting. A future experiment could manipulate this assumption by informing participants of the kind of opinion (conformer or deviate) that another individual is likely to exhibit. If our hypothesis is correct, then an unexpected conformer should elicit more interest (engagement) than an expected conformer, whereas an unexpected deviate should elicit more interest (engagement) than an expected deviate. In this situation, deviates may still elicit more overall interest (engagement) than conformers because deviates threaten the social reality of the group whereas conformers do not.

We also found that participants who evaluated conformers felt more right about their evaluations than did participants who evaluated deviates. We interpreted this finding as occurring because evaluations of conformers were more positive than evaluations of deviates and perhaps positive evaluations are relatively easy to make. But there may be circumstances in which negative evaluations are relatively easy to make. For example, it may be more acceptable to make negative evaluations of people who violate a moral code (e.g., by cheating on a test) than people who express deviant opinions of the sort used in the present study. To test this idea, a future experiment could compare how right participants feel when making evaluations of deviate targets who have broken versus not broken a moral code. If we are correct, then negative evaluations will be easier to make when judging the former kind of target, and participants will feel more right about their evaluations of moral deviates. By having participants rate the difficulty of making evaluations and then using these ratings in a mediational analysis, we would be able to test the proposed mechanism linking evaluations and feeling right.

Finally, this study found effects of target status on the content of discussions such that groups in the deviate condition reiterated and elaborated the group's position more than did groups in the conformer condition. We suggested that this might have occurred because the former groups' shared reality was threatened by the deviate's opinion and thus they attempted to strengthen their shared reality by focusing on their shared opinion. However, there may be cases in which groups focus on the deviate's position instead of their own. For example, a deviate who presents his or her opinion in an especially persuasive manner (e.g., by citing substantial scientific evidence) might cause the group to focus on that position more than their own. This hypothesis could be examined by manipulating the manner in which a deviate presents his or her opinion. We would expect that the group discussion would focus more on a deviate target's position than on the group's position if the target presented his or her opinion in an especially persuasive manner.

Clearly, the topic of reaction to deviates and conformers is an important one, and much remains to be learned about the factors that influence these reactions. Although the results of the present study did not support our predictions about the impact of regulatory fit, we believe that this theoretical perspective remains a useful framework for generating hypotheses about reaction to deviance and conformity as well as other group phenomena.

APPENDIX A

MATERIALS

A1. DEVIATE EAGER CONDITION

I am in favor of the senior thesis proposal for Pitt. It seems to make a lot of sense. First of all, I think that if students write a thesis, they will accomplish more in their courses. For example, students who write a thesis may be more enthusiastic about studying because they know they will really need course information for their thesis. So, they will probably read more than the assigned material. All in all, if students write a thesis, they will be more likely to work harder and accomplish more in their courses.

A second reason has to do with future opportunities for advancement. Writing a thesis may affect how well students can compete for graduate school positions and jobs after graduation. I think that students who try to do a good job on their thesis will be more likely to succeed when they are compared to other graduating seniors. This is because aspiring to write a good thesis will cause them to learn more in their majors, which will help their chances to get graduate school positions or jobs. Maybe the time spent working on a thesis would also cause

students to approach graduate admission tests with a more optimistic attitude. If so, they might be more likely to study hard for them.

Last, I think a thesis would be good for Pitt's reputation with potential students. We should do everything we can to send a signal that Pitt tries to do what best advances its students. I've heard that students at many top-tier universities already write a senior thesis. If Pitt students wrote a thesis too, our university might be seen as more eager about getting the best high school applicants.

As I guess you can tell, I support the thesis idea, even if it will mean a lot of work. It seems like a really valuable activity for students, and I think most people would approach it in a very enthusiastic way. The thesis will take a lot of time, but that would be outweighed by the fact that students would be more likely to work harder and accomplish more in their senior year. So, I think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because we aspire to do what is best for our students.

A2. DEVIATE VIGILANT CONDITION

I am in favor of the senior thesis proposal for Pitt. It seems to make a lot of sense. First of all, I think that if students write a thesis, they will learn more in their courses. For example, students who write a thesis may be more careful about studying because they know they will really need course information for their thesis. So, they will probably make sure to read the assigned material. All in all, if students write a thesis, they will generally become more responsible and will be less likely to blow off their courses.

A second reason has to do with future opportunities. Writing a thesis may affect how well students can compete for graduate school positions and jobs after graduation. I think that students who work on their thesis responsibly will be more likely to succeed when they are compared to other graduating seniors. This is because being careful to avoid writing a bad thesis will cause them to learn more in their majors, which will help their chances to get graduate school positions or jobs. Maybe the time spent working on a thesis would also cause students to approach graduate admission tests with a more realistic attitude. If so, they might be less likely to not study enough for them.

Last, I think a thesis would be good for Pitt's reputation with potential students. We should do everything we can to send a signal that Pitt tries to fulfill its obligation to do what is right for its students. I've heard that students at many top-tier universities already write a senior thesis. If Pitt students are required to write a thesis, our university might be seen as being careful to get the best high school applicants.

As I guess you can tell, I support the thesis idea, even if it will mean a lot of work. It seems like a really valuable activity for students, and I think most people would approach it in a very careful way. The thesis will take a lot of time, but that would be outweighed by the fact that students would be less likely to slack off in their senior year. So, I think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because it is our duty to do what is right for our students.

A3. CONFORMER EAGER CONDITION

I am not in favor of the senior thesis proposal for Pitt. It does not seem to make a lot of sense. First of all, I think that if students write a thesis, they will accomplish less in their courses. For

example, students who write a thesis may be less enthusiastic about studying because they have to worry about writing a thesis while taking classes. So, they will probably not read more than the assigned material. All in all, if students write a thesis, they will be less likely to work hard and will accomplish less in their courses.

A second reason has to do with future opportunities for advancement. Writing a thesis may affect how well students can compete for graduate school positions and jobs after graduation. I think that students who try to do a good job on their thesis rather than fulfilling their other aspirations will be less likely to succeed when they are compared to other graduating seniors. This is because trying to write a good thesis will give them less time to get internships and research jobs, which will hurt their chances to get graduate school positions or jobs. Maybe the time constraints of working on a thesis would also cause students to approach graduate admission tests with a less optimistic attitude. If so, they might be less likely to study hard for them.

Last, I think a thesis would not be good for Pitt's reputation with potential students. We should do everything we can to send a signal that Pitt tries to do what best advances its students. I've heard that students at many top-tier universities do not write a senior thesis. If Pitt students wrote a thesis, our university might be seen as less eager about getting the best high school applicants.

As I guess you can tell, I do not support the thesis idea, because it will mean a lot of extra work. It does not seem like a really valuable activity for students, and I think most people would not approach it in a very enthusiastic way. The thesis will take a lot of time, and students in their senior year would be less likely to work hard in their courses and will accomplish less. So, I do not think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because we aspire to do what is best for our students.

A4. CONFORMER VIGILANT CONDITION

I am not in favor of the senior thesis proposal for Pitt. It does not seem to make a lot of sense. First of all, I think that if students write a thesis, they will learn less in their courses. For example, students who write a thesis may be less careful about studying because they have to worry about writing a thesis while taking classes. So, they will probably not be as responsible about reading the assigned material. All in all, if students write a thesis, they will be more likely to blow off their courses.

A second reason has to do with future opportunities. Writing a thesis may affect how well students compete for graduate school positions and jobs after graduation. I think that students who worry about doing a bad job on their thesis will be less likely to succeed when they are compared to other graduating seniors. This is because trying to avoid doing a bad job will give them less time to get internships and research jobs, which will hurt their chances to get graduate school positions and jobs. Maybe the time constraints of working on a thesis would also cause students to approach graduate admission tests with a more pessimistic attitude. If so, they might be less likely to study hard for them.

Last, I think a thesis would not be good for Pitt's reputation with potential students. We should do everything we can to send a signal that Pitt tries to fulfill its obligation to do what is right for its students. I've heard that students at many top-tier universities do not write a senior thesis. If Pitt students are required to write a thesis, our university might be seen as not being careful enough to get the best high school applicants.

As I guess you can tell, I do not support the thesis idea, because it will mean a lot of extra work. As it does not seem like a really valuable activity for students, and I think most people would not approach it in a very careful way. The thesis will take a lot of time, and students would be less likely to be responsible and work hard in their courses in their senior year. So, I do not think it is a good idea for Pitt to introduce the senior thesis because it is our duty to do what is right for our students.

A5. PILOT TEST DEPENDENT MEASURES

Instructions: Please answer the following questions about the videotape you just watched by circling the appropriate number on the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very						Very
unfavorably						favorably

1. How do you think the typical Pitt undergraduate would respond to this message?
2. How much did the message focus on increasing students' enthusiasm?
3. How much was the speaker concerned with students accomplishing their best?
4. How much was the speaker concerned with students being responsible and not slacking off?
5. How much did the message focus on ensuring that students be careful?
6. How persuasive were the speaker's arguments about the proposal?
7. How convincing were the speaker's arguments?
8. How coherent were the speaker's arguments?

9. How reasonable were the speaker's arguments?

A6. REGULATORY FOCUS MANIPULATION: PROMOTION FOCUS

Instructions: Please think about something you ideally would like to do. In other words, please think about a hope or aspiration you currently have. Please list the hope or aspiration in the space below.

A7. REGULATORY FOCUS MANIPULATION: PREVENTION FOCUS

Instructions: Please think about something you think you ought to do. In other words, please think about a duty or obligation you currently have. Please list the duty or obligation in the space below.

A8. SENIOR THESIS REQUIREMENT DESCRIPTION: PROMOTION

Recently, in an effort to create greater academic opportunity for students, faculty at the University of Pittsburgh have been considering implementing a new degree enhancement program. Starting in the next two years, students would have the chance to complete a 30-40 page senior thesis during their last year at Pitt. The thesis would report a research project appropriate to the student's major and would be supervised by a faculty member. The goal of the thesis is to

support students in gaining more knowledge about their area of study. To succeed, students would need to spend about 15 hours per week working on their thesis during their senior year, in addition to completing other course requirements. The thesis would be read by a three-person panel of faculty members, and seniors who did a good job would graduate.

A9. SENIOR THESIS REQUIREMENT DESCRIPTION: PREVENTION

Recently, in an effort to guard against inadequate student performance, faculty at the University of Pittsburgh have been considering implementing a new graduation requirement. Starting in the next two years, students would be required to complete a 30-40 page senior thesis during their last year at Pitt. The thesis would report a research project appropriate to the student's major and would be supervised by a faculty member. The goal of the thesis is to make sure that students have acquired the necessary knowledge about their area of study. To avoid failing, students would need to spend about 15 hours per week working on their thesis during their senior year, in addition to completing other course requirements. The thesis would be read by a three-person panel of faculty members, and seniors who did not do a good job would not be allowed to graduate.

A10. GROUP TASK INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR GROUP'S DECISION BELOW:

Should departments at the University of Pittsburgh include a senior thesis as part of their graduation requirements (yes or no)? _____

PLEASE LIST THREE ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING YOUR GROUP'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

A11. PARTICIPANT'S POSITION ON THE SENIOR THESIS PROPOSAL

Instructions: Please answer the following question by circling the appropriate number.

1. What is your current position on the senior thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly against it						Strongly in favor of it

A12. PARTICIPANT'S POSITION ON THE SENIOR THESIS PROPOSAL

Instructions: Please answer the following questions about the video you just watched by circling the appropriate number.

1. What is your current position on the senior thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly against it						Strongly in favor of it

2. What position did the speaker take on the senior thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly against it						Strongly in favor of it

3. How much do you think most other Pitt students would agree with the speaker's opinion about the thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much

4. How likeable did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all likeable						Very likeable

5. How intelligent did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all intelligent						Very intelligent

2. What position did the speaker take on the senior thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly against it						Strongly in favor of it

3. How much do you think most other Pitt students would agree with the speaker's opinion about the thesis proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much

4. How likeable did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all likeable						Very likeable

5. How intelligent did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all intelligent						Very intelligent

6. How trustworthy did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all trustworthy						Very trustworthy

7. How competent did the speaker seem?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all competent						Very competent

8. How similar is the speaker to you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all similar						Very similar

9. How persuasive were the speaker's arguments about the proposal?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all persuasive						Very persuasive

10. How convincing were the speaker's arguments?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all convincing						Very convincing

11. How coherent were the speaker's arguments?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all coherent						Very coherent

12. How reasonable were the speaker's arguments?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all reasonable						Very reasonable

13. How right do you feel about your evaluations of the speaker and his message?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all right						Very right

14. How engaged did you feel during the second group discussion – the one concerning the video?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all engaged						Very engaged

Instructions: Please answer the following questions about the group you worked with today by circling the appropriate number.

15. To what extent did the members of your group agree about whether the senior comprehensive exam should be implemented at Pitt?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						A great deal

16. To what extent did the members of your group agree in their evaluations of the speaker?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						A great deal

17. To what extent did the members of your group get along with one another?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						A great deal

18. If you were to participate in another group experiment, how much would you like to participate with the people in your group in today's session?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						A great deal

A13. EVENT REACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

This set of questions asks you HOW FREQUENTLY specific events actually occur or have occurred in your life. Please indicate your answer to each question by circling the appropriate number below it.

1. Compared to most people, are you typically unable to get what you want out of life?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

2. Growing up, would you ever “cross the line” by doing things that your parents would not tolerate?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

3. How often have you accomplished things that got you “psyched” to work even harder?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		A few times		Many times

4. Did you get on your parents’ nerves often when you were growing up?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

5. How often did you obey rules and regulations that were established by your parents?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Always

6. Growing up, did you ever act in ways that your parents thought were objectionable?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

7. Do you often do well at different things that you try?

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

8. Not being careful enough has gotten me into trouble at times.

1	2	3	4	5
Never or seldom		Sometimes		Very often

9. When it comes to achieving things that are important to me, I find that I don't perform as well as I would ideally like to do.

1	2	3	4	5
Never true		Sometimes true		Very often true

10. I feel like I have made progress towards being successful in my life.

1	2	3	4	5
Certainly false				Certainly true

11. I have found very few hobbies or activities in my life that capture my interest or motivate me to put effort into them.

1	2	3	4	5
Certainly false				Certainly true

Please answer the following questions.

Instructions: Please answer the following questions.

What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

Did you know any of your other group members before the experiment today? If so, how did you know them? (Do not write down the names of the group member(s) you are describing.)

If you have any other comments about the experiment, please write them below.

Please answer the following background questions:

Age: _____ Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity:

_____ White/Caucasian _____ Black/African-American _____ Asian
_____ Hispanic/Latino _____ Other (please specify) _____

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1B: Predicted effects of participants' regulatory focus and target's advocacy style on participants' regulatory fit/non-fit.

	Conformer		Deviate	
	Promotion	Prevention	Promotion	Prevention
Eager	1. Fit	2. Non-Fit	3. Fit	4. Non-Fit
Vigilant	5. Non-Fit	6. Fit	7. Non-Fit	8. Fit

Table 2B: Predicted effects of participants' regulatory focus and target's advocacy style on participants' task engagement.

	Conformer		Deviate	
	Promotion	Prevention	Promotion	Prevention
Eager	1. High Engagement	2. Low Engagement	3. High Engagement	4. Low Engagement
Vigilant	5. Low Engagement	6. High Engagement	7. Low Engagement	8. High Engagement

Table 3B: Predicted effects of participants' regulatory focus and target's advocacy style on participants' evaluation of conformers and deviates.

	Conformer		Deviate	
	Promotion	Prevention	Promotion	Prevention
Eager	1. Strong Liking	2. Liking	3. Strong Disliking	4. Disliking
Vigilant	5. Liking	6. Strong Liking	7. Disliking	8. Strong Disliking

Table 4B: Questionnaire responses by target status and target advocacy style.

	Conformer		Deviate	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Typical Pitt Undergrad	5.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.28)	5.00 (<i>SD</i> = 1.67)	3.25 (<i>SD</i> = .97)	3.10 (<i>SD</i> = 1.17)
Enthusiasm	3.30 (<i>SD</i> = 1.81)	2.65 (<i>SD</i> = 1.98)	4.15 (<i>SD</i> = 1.57)	2.40 (<i>SD</i> = 1.31)
Accomplish Best	5.10 (<i>SD</i> = 1.55)	5.05 (<i>SD</i> = 1.64)	4.75 (<i>SD</i> = 1.59)	5.05 (<i>SD</i> = 1.64)
Responsible	3.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.85)	4.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.76)	3.55 (<i>SD</i> = 1.32)	5.20 (<i>SD</i> = 1.54)
Careful	2.20 (<i>SD</i> = 1.24)	3.55 (<i>SD</i> = 1.99)	2.00 (<i>SD</i> = 1.17)	3.75 (<i>SD</i> = 1.74)
Persuasive	3.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.36)	3.55 (<i>SD</i> = 1.57)	3.60 (<i>SD</i> = 1.47)	3.25 (<i>SD</i> = 1.45)
Convincing	3.80 (<i>SD</i> = 1.4)	3.90 (<i>SD</i> = 1.41)	3.80 (<i>SD</i> = 1.36)	3.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.61)
Coherent	4.10 (<i>SD</i> = 1.07)	4.35 (<i>SD</i> = 1.53)	3.95 (<i>SD</i> = 1.28)	4.50 (<i>SD</i> = 1.36)
Reasonable	4.40 (<i>SD</i> = 1.27)	4.15 (<i>SD</i> = 1.63)	4.40 (<i>SD</i> = 1.35)	4.60 (<i>SD</i> = 1.35)

Table 5B: Questionnaire responses by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for conformers.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Target's Position	1.39 (<i>SD</i> = .68)	1.17 (<i>SD</i> = .40)	1.45 (<i>SD</i> = 1.12)	1.24 (<i>SD</i> = .41)
Others' Agreement	5.32 (<i>SD</i> = 1.09)	5.32 (<i>SD</i> = .99)	5.76 (<i>SD</i> = .78)	5.19 (<i>SD</i> = 1.02)
Target's Similarity	3.29 (<i>SD</i> = .92)	3.33 (<i>SD</i> = 1.24)	3.71 (<i>SD</i> = .90)	3.27 (<i>SD</i> = .94)
Discussion Length	275.68 (<i>SD</i> = 130.30)	319.88 (<i>SD</i> = 184.52)	372.68 (<i>SD</i> = 271.88)	393.24 (<i>SD</i> = 266.94)
Engagement	5.00 (<i>SD</i> = .87)	4.88 (<i>SD</i> = 1.12)	4.95 (<i>SD</i> = 1.08)	4.81 (<i>SD</i> = .89)
Feeling Right	5.64 (<i>SD</i> = .52)	5.68 (<i>SD</i> = .73)	5.83 (<i>SD</i> = .71)	5.68 (<i>SD</i> = .68)
Composite Target Evaluation	4.39 (<i>SD</i> = .81)	4.17 (<i>SD</i> = 1.23)	5.00 (<i>SD</i> = .86)	4.08 (<i>SD</i> = 1.20)
Attitude at Time 2	1.87 (<i>SD</i> = .65)	1.85 (<i>SD</i> = .60)	1.75 (<i>SD</i> = .51)	2.01 (<i>SD</i> = .84)
Opinion Difference Score	-.27 (<i>SD</i> = .36)	-.05 (<i>SD</i> = .28)	-.05 (<i>SD</i> = .42)	-.15 (<i>SD</i> = .33)
Group Agreement about Thesis Requirement	5.88 (<i>SD</i> = 1.34)	5.55 (<i>SD</i> = 1.27)	5.69 (<i>SD</i> = 1.87)	5.61 (<i>SD</i> = 3.61)
Group Agreement about Target Evaluation	6.45 (<i>SD</i> = .49)	6.11 (<i>SD</i> = .83)	6.55 (<i>SD</i> = .46)	6.09 (<i>SD</i> = .83)
Perceived Group Cohesion	6.53 (<i>SD</i> = .49)	6.51 (<i>SD</i> = .48)	6.41 (<i>SD</i> = .57)	6.33 (<i>SD</i> = .55)
Desire to Participate Again	5.89 (<i>SD</i> = .71)	5.81 (<i>SD</i> = .78)	5.89 (<i>SD</i> = .64)	5.96 (<i>SD</i> = .64)

Table 6B: Questionnaire responses by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for deviates.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Target's Position	6.61 (<i>SD</i> = .48)	6.68 (<i>SD</i> = .30)	6.64 (<i>SD</i> = .40)	6.60 (<i>SD</i> = .52)
Others' Agreement	2.71 (<i>SD</i> = .67)	2.73 (<i>SD</i> = .40)	2.53 (<i>SD</i> = .84)	2.43 (<i>SD</i> = .68)
Target's Similarity	2.51 (<i>SD</i> = .62)	2.27 (<i>SD</i> = .65)	2.32 (<i>SD</i> = .63)	2.29 (<i>SD</i> = .70)
Discussion Length	360.92 (<i>SD</i> = 185.36)	453.08 (<i>SD</i> = 181.18)	461.68 (<i>SD</i> = 214.72)	404.63 (<i>SD</i> = 240.25)
Engagement	5.52 (<i>SD</i> = .80)	5.68 (<i>SD</i> = .41)	5.24 (<i>SD</i> = .65)	5.83 (<i>SD</i> = .75)
Feeling Right	5.27 (<i>SD</i> = .67)	5.32 (<i>SD</i> = .72)	5.52 (<i>SD</i> = .61)	5.73 (<i>SD</i> = .61)
Composite Target Evaluation	3.74 (<i>SD</i> = .67)	3.73 (<i>SD</i> = .86)	3.58 (<i>SD</i> = .65)	3.53 (<i>SD</i> = .85)
Attitude at Time 2	2.28 (<i>SD</i> = .71)	1.99 (<i>SD</i> = .51)	2.15 (<i>SD</i> = .91)	1.83 (<i>SD</i> = .58)
Opinion Difference Score	0 (<i>SD</i> = .29)	-.08 (<i>SD</i> = .29)	.13 (<i>SD</i> = .54)	-.03(<i>SD</i> = .35)
Group Agreement about Thesis Requirement	5.68 (<i>SD</i> = 2.38)	5.32 (<i>SD</i> = 1.36)	4.88 (<i>SD</i> = 1.25)	5.33 (<i>SD</i> = 1.56)
Group Agreement about Target Evaluation	5.44 (<i>SD</i> = 1.28)	5.80 (<i>SD</i> = 1.19)	6.55 (<i>SD</i> = .46)	5.71 (<i>SD</i> = 1.11)
Perceived Group Cohesion	6.44 (<i>SD</i> = .62)	6.69 (<i>SD</i> = .38)	6.41 (<i>SD</i> = .57)	6.67 (<i>SD</i> = .25)
Desire to Participate Again	5.93 (<i>SD</i> = .90)	6.35 (<i>SD</i> = .56)	5.89 (<i>SD</i> = .64)	6.11 (<i>SD</i> = .58)

Table 7B: Group discussion content by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for conformers.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Position	5.94% (<i>SD</i> = .05)	7.21% (<i>SD</i> = .09)	7.43% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	4.65% (<i>SD</i> = .05)
Arguments	19.88% (<i>SD</i> = .11)	16.84% (<i>SD</i> = .10)	12.80% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	17.90% (<i>SD</i> = .11)
Person	.79% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	.87% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	2.23% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	.77% (<i>SD</i> = .02)
Presentation	1.15% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	4.08% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	4.50% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	2.43% (<i>SD</i> = .04)
Reiteration	27.47% (<i>SD</i> = .16)	28.02% (<i>SD</i> = .13)	28.18% (<i>SD</i> = .13)	28.46% (<i>SD</i> = .12)
Modification	.97% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	1.66% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	1.60% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	1.63% (<i>SD</i> = .03)
Other	43.80% (<i>SD</i> = .18)	41.34% (<i>SD</i> = .11)	43.25% (<i>SD</i> = .17)	44.15% (<i>SD</i> = .17)

Table 8B: Group discussion content by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for deviates.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Position	1.97% (<i>SD</i> = .04)	2.85% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	2.46% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	3.01% (<i>SD</i> = .03)
Arguments	15.86% (<i>SD</i> = .10)	11.93% (<i>SD</i> = .06)	15.34% (<i>SD</i> = .07)	16.88% (<i>SD</i> = .10)
Person	1.01% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	.96% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	1.16% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	.88% (<i>SD</i> = .02)
Presentation	1.23% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	1.04% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	.86% (<i>SD</i> = .02)	.56% (<i>SD</i> = .02)
Reiteration	32.33% (<i>SD</i> = .12)	31.33% (<i>SD</i> = .09)	34.40% (<i>SD</i> = .11)	31.21% (<i>SD</i> = .11)
Modification	3.33% (<i>SD</i> = .04)	3.47% (<i>SD</i> = .04)	2.97% (<i>SD</i> = .03)	2.18% (<i>SD</i> = .03)
Other	44.25% (<i>SD</i> = .17)	48.42% (<i>SD</i> = .12)	42.81% (<i>SD</i> = .15)	45.28% (<i>SD</i> = .15)

Table 9B: Group discussion valence by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for conformers.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Position	.23 (<i>SD</i> = .46)	.10 (<i>SD</i> = .56)	.22 (<i>SD</i> = .51)	.24 (<i>SD</i> = .51)
Arguments	.18 (<i>SD</i> = .41)	-.04 (<i>SD</i> = .51)	.21 (<i>SD</i> = .46)	-.08 (<i>SD</i> = .57)

Table 10B: Group discussion valence by regulatory focus and target advocacy style for deviates.

	Promotion		Prevention	
	Eager	Vigilant	Eager	Vigilant
Position	-.22 (<i>SD</i> = .77)	-.39 (<i>SD</i> = .56)	-.16 (<i>SD</i> = .59)	-.21 (<i>SD</i> = .48)
Arguments	-.33 (<i>SD</i> = .38)	-.39 (<i>SD</i> = .35)	-.44 (<i>SD</i> = .36)	-.57 (<i>SD</i> = .32)

Table 11B: Correlations between target evaluations and rate of discussion of content categories.

	Position	Presentation	Reiteration	Modification
Conformer	.218*	-.334**	.045	-.034
Deviate	.094	-.367**	.135	.403**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 12B: Correlations between target evaluations and valence of content categories.

	Position	Arguments
Conformer	.316**	.517**
Deviate	.464**	.466**
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$		

APPENDIX C

FIGURES

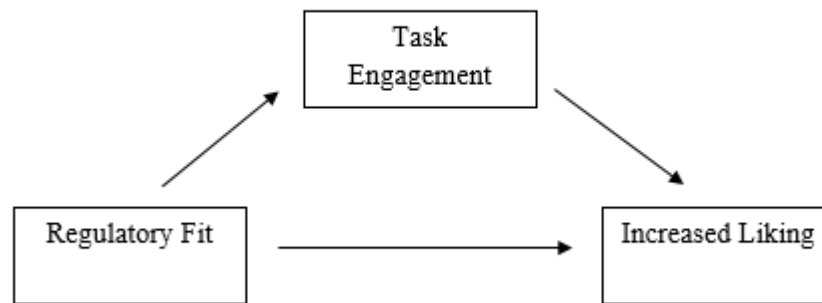


Figure 1C. Predicted mediation of task engagement on the impact of regulatory fit on evaluation of conformers.

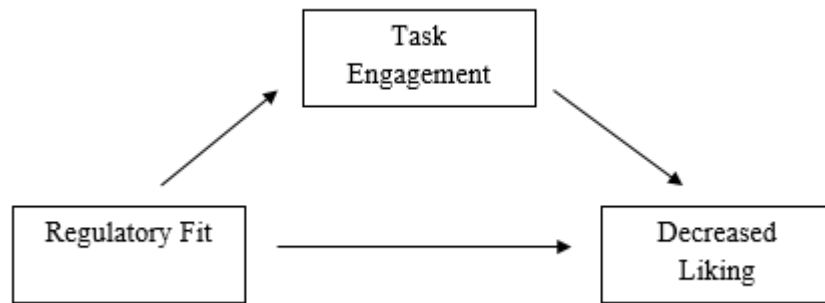


Figure 2C. Predicted mediation of task engagement on the impact of regulatory fit on evaluation of deviates.

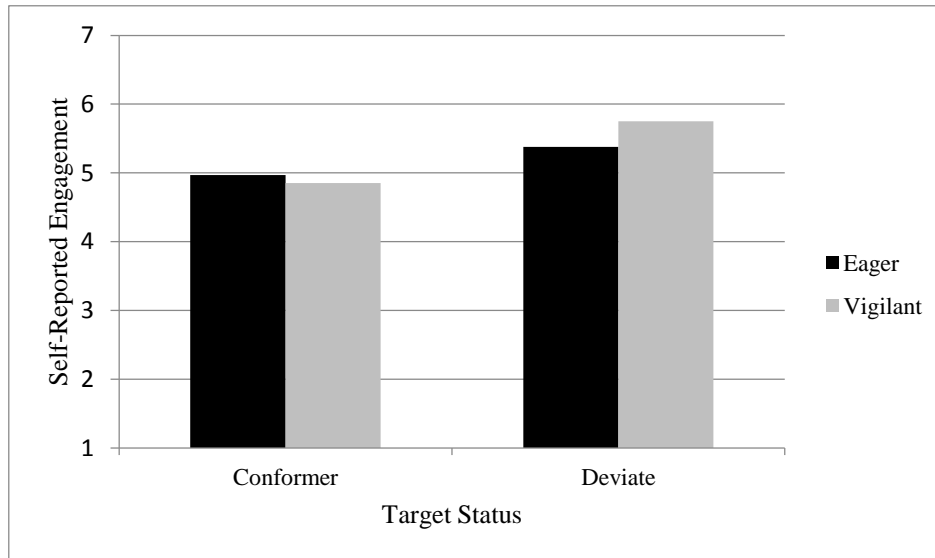


Figure 3C. Interaction between Target Status and Target Advocacy Style on Self-reported Engagement.

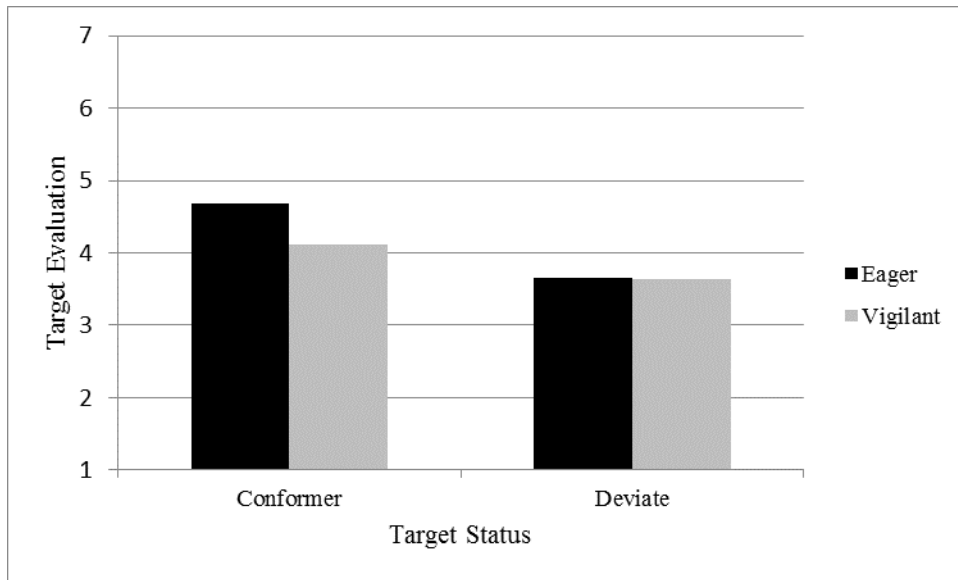


Figure 4C. Interaction between Target Status and Target Advocacy Style on Target Evaluation.

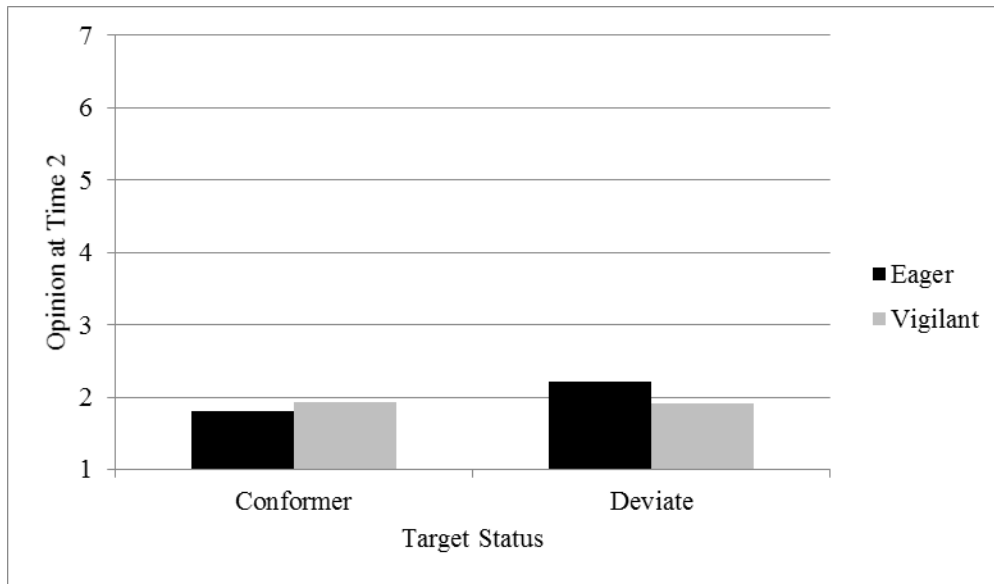


Figure 5C. Interaction between Target Status and Target Advocacy Style on Opinion at Time 2.

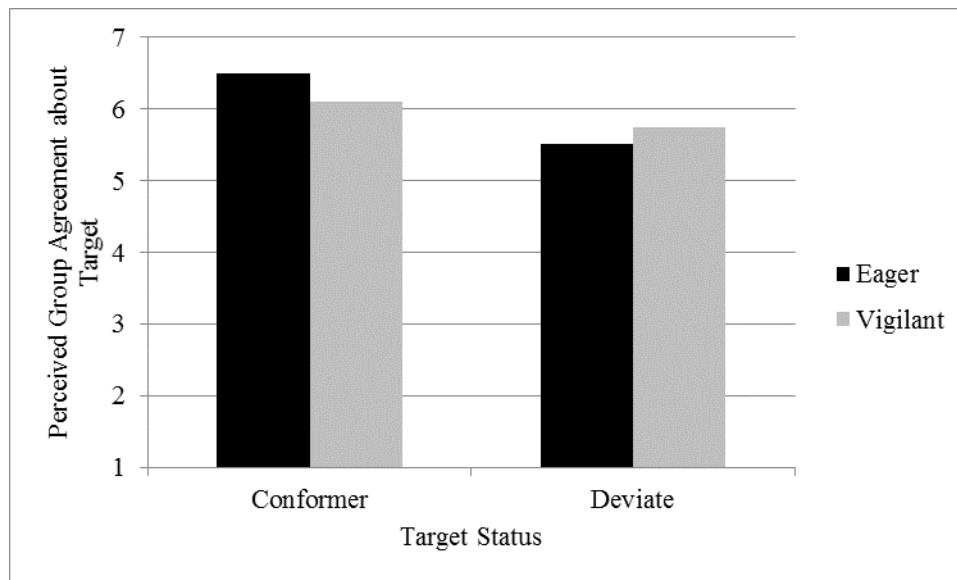


Figure 6C. Interaction between Target Status and Target Advocacy Style on Perceived Group Agreement about the Target Evaluation.

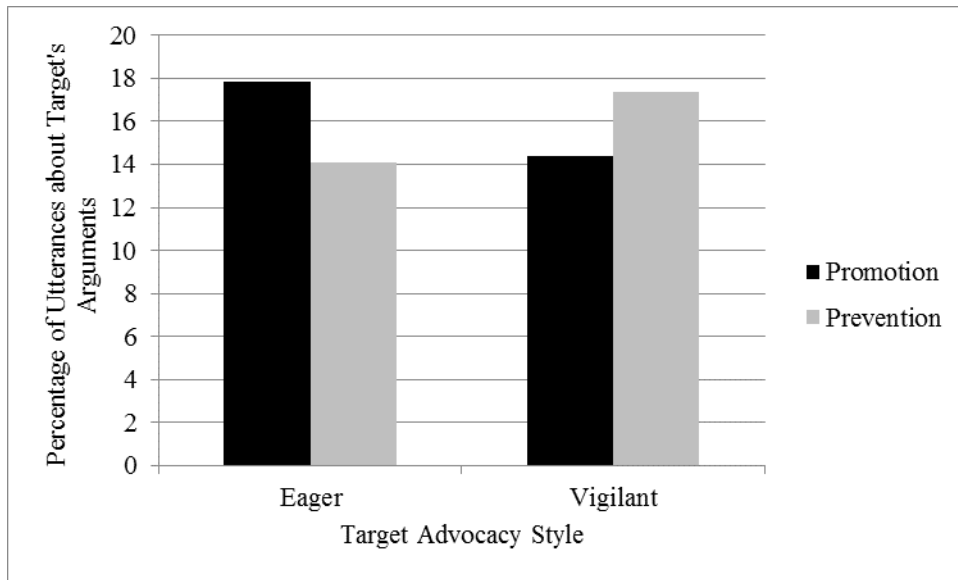


Figure 7C. Interaction between Regulatory Focus and Target Advocacy Style on the Percentage of Speaking Turns about the Target's Arguments.

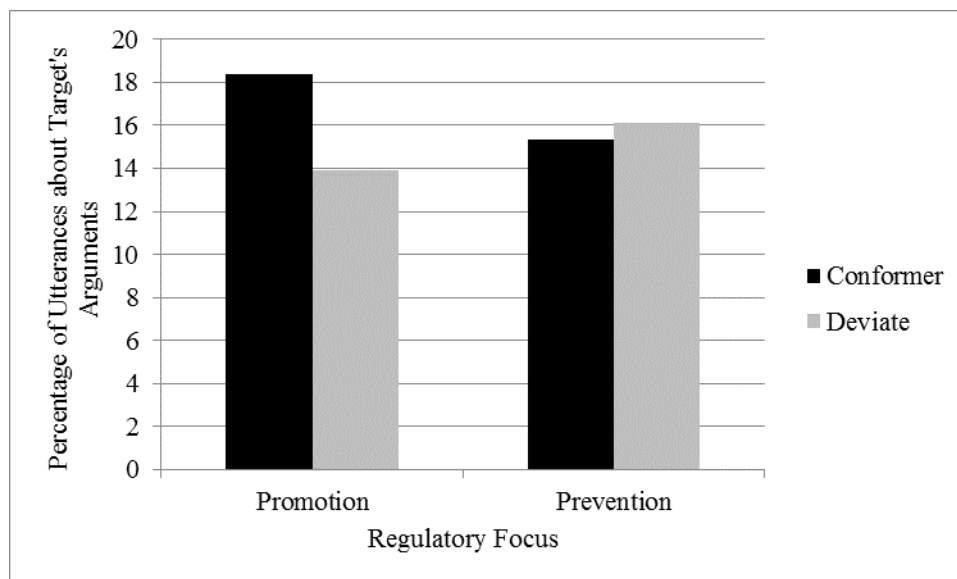


Figure 8C. Interaction between Regulatory Focus and Target Status on the Percentage of Speaking Turns about the Target's Arguments.

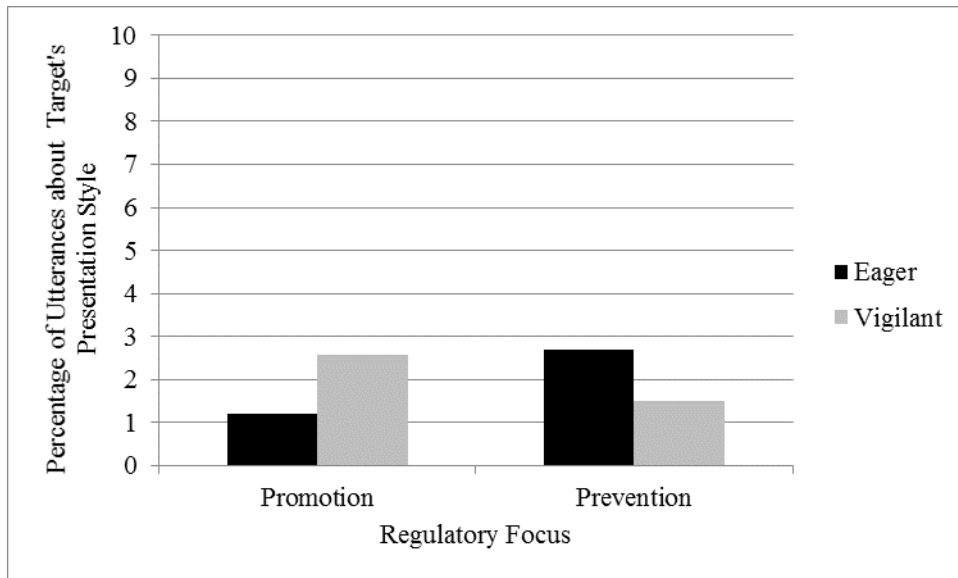


Figure 9C. Interaction between Regulatory Focus and Target Advocacy Style on the Percentage of Speaking Turns about the Target's Presentation Style.

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